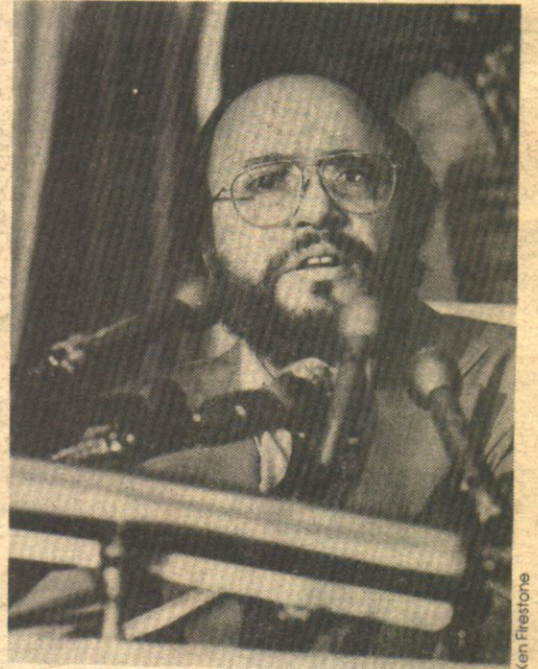
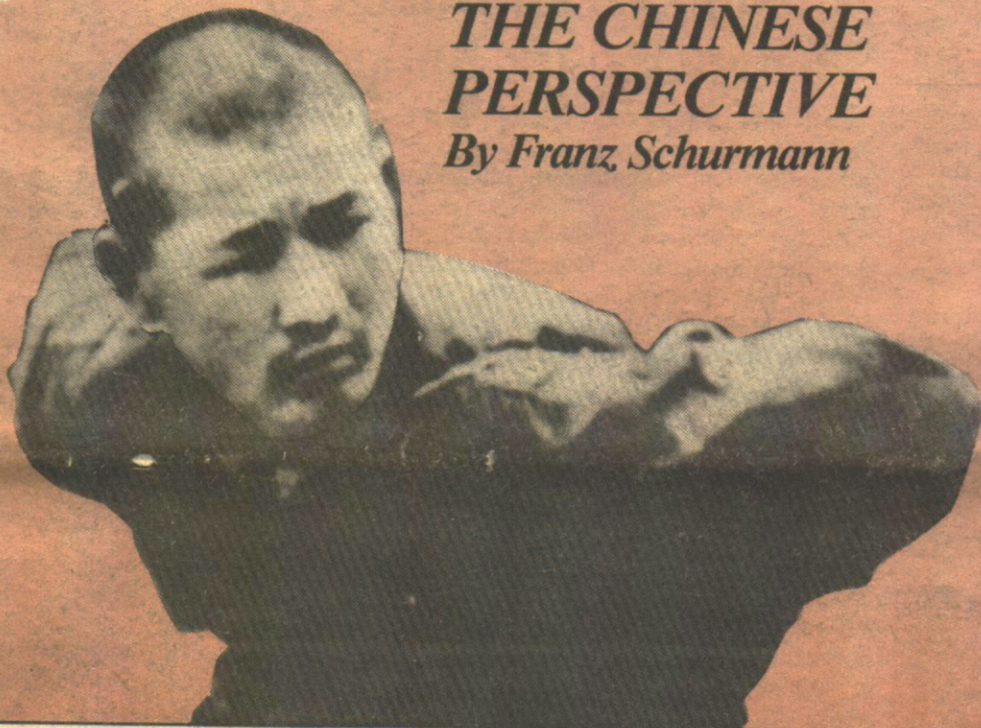




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THE INSIDE STORY

JOHN JUDIS

Progressive Alliance shows progress

"People want something that is credible politically, that isn't scary, but that has different motion," Marc Raskin of the Institute for Policy Studies said. Raskin was trying to explain the enthusiastic turnout for the third meeting of Douglas Fraser's Progressive Alliance.

More than 150 people representing dozens of organizations attended the Alliance's two-day mobilization against the Carter budget cuts in Washington Feb. 28-March 1. After an afternoon of speeches—someone compared it to a "pep rally"—they converged the next morning on congressional offices to lobby against the cuts.

This was the alliance's third national meeting. The first, last October, produced a consensus that there should be an organization that opposed the rightward drift of presentday politics. The second—in Washington, Jan. 15—gave the organization its name and adopted a broad statement of principles.

The Alliance has managed to keep together its diverse membership, which ranges from hitherto fairly conservative trade unions like the Laborers to openly socialist organizations. Since the October meeting, it has attracted new members like the Plumbers and the Industrial Union Department of the AFL-CIO.

At the January meeting, the main disagreement was over whether the Alliance should take issue with the administration's proposed 3 percent increase in defense spending. Some UAW officials argued for limiting the coalition's attack to the social spending cuts. Although the UAW took a broader position, they feared that a strong stand might drive out some of the unions.

Disagreements on defense still persist in the Alliance. For example, Bernard Sorokin of the New Democratic Coalition advocated a 35-40 percent cut in the defense budget, while Fraser and AFSCME president Jerry Wurf spoke of 5 percent. But the Alliance leadership agreed to make an issue of the 3 percent boost. Raskin, a member of the Alliance's temporary steering committee, explained that too many of the Alliance's member organizations were opposed to the increase for the Alliance not to take a position on it.

At the Wednesday afternoon speak-out, it was also apparent that there are still disagreements about the Alliance's purpose. Jerry Thompson of the Machinists got applause when he called for taking on the White House directly. The Machinists have already made clear they are shopping for an alternative to Carter in 1980.

Privately, others at the Wednesday meeting said they would like to see the Alliance become the programmatic wing of a Ted Kennedy challenge in 1980.

But Fraser remained adamant about keeping the Alliance out of the 1980 jockeying. This partly reflects the UAW's own position on this race. But it also reflects his longterm view of the Alliance. "If you use this organization to set up or destroy a candidate," he said, "it loses its purpose. It has to be based on ideas and principles."

The Alliance's next step, according to Fraser, will be to elect a national leadership and set up commissions that will draw up the organization's political program. Such an effort, Fraser hinted, could feed into the Democratic platform process in 1980. The Alliance leadership has dropped its idea of a spring mobilization in Washington against the Carter budget cuts.

Asked how the Alliance will develop a following in the proverbial grassroots, Fraser said that state Alliance organizations would be an important step in that direction. He said that the Alliance already had inquiries about setting up state organizations in Michigan, New York, Iowa, Massachusetts, California, and Ohio.

Fraser also stressed that the Alliance would have to foster new intellectual development on the left, including left-wing think tanks that could match the American Enterprise Institute.

This edition (Vol. 3, No. 17) published March 14, 1979, for newsstand distribution March 14, 1979.



Stephen Schlossberg (left), UAW director of governmental affairs, and UAW president Douglas Fraser.

UAW's Fraser stresses issues and principles over supporting or opposing a presidential candidate.

A balanced approach to balancing the budget

Last week, I reported the scorn and paranoia with which many liberals and leftists have greeted the constitutional convention/balanced budget drive. There are exceptions, however.

At the recent meeting of the California Democratic party, the Campaign for Economic Democracy (CED), founded in the wake of Tom Hayden's 1976 Senate campaign, introduced a resolution on the balanced budget, which the party meeting adopted. The text follows:

WHEREAS the nation and the state are plagued with chronic inflation and the renewed spectre of recession, and

WHEREAS inflation in the basic necessities of life—food, housing, energy, and medical care—is rising at approximately 12 percent annually; twice the rate of many luxuries, and

WHEREAS the Democratic Party has a historic commitment to the betterment of the working people, consumers, the poor, minorities, seniors and the disabled in their struggle against concentrated power and privilege.

THEREFORE, BE IT RESOLVED that state and national policies designed to fight inflation address the problem of monopoly power in the delivery of medical care, energy production, housing costs, food production and distribution.

FURTHERMORE, BE IT RESOLVED that the Democratic Party's task is to achieve a balanced budget without reducing the public commitment to health care, education and vital services to the elderly, disabled and the poor.

This goal can be accomplished by closing the tax loopholes of the wealthy to generate new revenue, by reducing Pentagon spending for nuclear overkill, shifting rapidly to renewable energy resources such as solar, stepping up anti-trust efforts against economic monopolies, and moving to a system of preventive medicine and national health insurance.

FINALLY, BE IT RESOLVED that the Democratic Party opposes the creation of unemployment and recession as a policy to fight inflation when the efficient and humane method would be to re-organize national spending priorities while attacking monopoly power in our pricing system.

In its Feb. 1979 *News*, CED also offers what I think is a constructive, and not purely defensive, response to the proposals for a new constitutional convention:

We do not share the widespread knee-jerk rejection of a convention to make structural changes in our Constitution. The Constitution is not perfect. It protects our political rights, but as it has been applied over the years it protects the rich and turns a blind eye to the poor.

In the case at hand, however, we cannot support a convention to balance the budget because we are concerned that the mechanisms necessary to end unemployment in our cities would never be activated by Congress, and because we do not believe that the large urban states should be held hostage to the economic priorities of the rural states.

If the resolution now being considered by California were re-drafted to read: "The President shall submit to Congress annually a full-employment, balanced budget," we would gladly fight for it in convention, in the halls of Congress or up and down the streets of our communities.

IN THESE TIMES

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IN THE NATION

Heads may roll, but Machine gears may still mesh

By David Moberg

CHICAGO

THE MACHINE HAS BEEN BEATEN. Long live the Machine? In the wake of upstart Jane Byrne's thoroughly surprising defeat of the regular Democrats' candidate for mayor in the primary, incumbent Michael Bilandic, some Chicagoans appeared ready to prepare a wake for the long-established organization, a supposedly 19th century relic of clout, patronage and ethnic wheeling-dealing persisting anachronistically into the late 20th century.

But the political negotiations in the week following the election suggest that the Machine is not dead, even though it is undergoing another substantial transformation. However, at the same time, Chicago politics has been opened up by Byrne's victory, so that the city will never run in quite the same dictatorial fashion as it has in the past.

After beating them, Byrne promptly met with the business, labor and party leaders who had constituted the core of the old Machine, gradually winning the cautious support of nearly all those blocs while continuing to promise revenge against the faction within the Machine and city government identified with Bilandic and his allies, Aldermen Edward Burke and Ed Vrdolyak.

Clearly, some heads will roll from top city posts, including the police superintendent, and a few more black and Latino faces will appear in deference to the decisive role in her election of the surprisingly large black voter turnout that went heavily for Byrne, even though it did not sweep in black independent city council candidates.

It is also likely that the city bureaucracy will have more professionals and fewer political hacks, even though Byrne has no intention of dismantling the patronage system entirely. Her programs—which she describes as “populist”—are likely to favor the neighborhoods and lead to both more progressive and more equitably distributed city services in everything from health to street cleaning, reversing to some extent the favoritism to a few wards and to the city's central business district.

Old Machine loyalists are convinced that the heavy weight of the city bureaucracy and the money power of the bankers and business executives will temper any Byrne adventures. “She won't be able to veer off in some direction,” Machine alderman Roman Pucinski argued. “Government may seem fragile, but there's a lot of stability built in. Sooner or later she'll have to come over here and consult the pros.”

No fundamental changes.

Even Machine antagonists, such as retiring alderman Dick Simpson, don't see the Byrne administration as fundamentally changing the city. However, Simpson argues, “two important myths have been broken. One is that ‘this is the city that works and the Machine makes it work’ and the other is that ‘you can't beat city hall.’”

As a result, whatever Byrne accomplishes in office, her victory has already given insurgents from various communities a greater chance to create a more substantial alternative if they can overcome their present weakness, division

and disorganization and create the political vehicle for winning power.

In the days after the election, the dissident voters who gave Byrne her victory have not had the mechanisms to enforce her commitments to them, since they poured out as an unorganized, spontaneous electorate. However, the organized forces—the ones, as *Tribune* editorialists and pro-Machine political scientist Milton Rakove remind people, that already have power and thus “must” be made part of the new government instead of the chaotic popular coalition that elected Byrne—have been quick to strike the best arrangement they can with Byrne.

Despite threats about lowered bond ratings and canceled construction projects, business leaders have somewhat reluctantly come to support Byrne, even though she disturbed them with her opposition to treasured construction projects, such as an ill-advised subway leg downtown, a new sports stadium and a massive Loop urban renewal proposal.

Wallace Johnson, her Republican opponent, may pick up some of their support, especially since he is so committed to a continuation of the old Bilandic regime—perhaps retaining even Bilandic's patronage chief if he wins.

Labor leaders, almost entirely behind Bilandic, have switched to Byrne with only minor misgivings after she assured them that she would maintain city craft wages at the prevailing private industry level and keep labor officials on city boards and commissions.

Promises collective bargaining.

She also pleased them, especially leaders of AFSCME (state, county and municipal employees), the Service Employees union and the representatives of police and fire department employees, by pledging to end the old handshake labor agreements and institute regular collective bargaining and contracts. This would make unions slightly less dependent on the political continuity of the Machine, but more important would weaken the patronage system by inserting another authority and contractual rules between political bosses and city workers. Vigorous organizing drives can be expected soon, once the groundrules are set.

Even the more progressive labor leaders, however, often have no desire to weaken the Machine itself. Although Machinist International representative Charlie Williams thinks that the Byrne administration will be to the left of the old Machine and more sympathetic to community needs, he thinks—and hopes—that she'll hold the Machine together.

“A good, well-oiled Machine can get things done,” he argues. “She cannot be a populist. A populist only lasts for a little while. She has to be a doer as well and that means doing some favors for people—aldermen, business.”

Favors for aldermen brings us to patronage, the muscle of the old Machine. Byrne has pledged to give Cook County party chairman George Dunne control over patronage, taking it out of the mayor's office, but she also insists that department chairmen and the mayor will have veto power to insure that only appointments based on merit and competence will be approved.

Dunne, who is expected to retire soon, and was ill-treated by Bilandic forces, will probably disperse patronage more

Continued on page 8.



Jane Byrne emerges from election-night speech to her workers. With her is husband-newspaper reporter Jay McMullen.

Byrne's victory over the Machine may make economics, not the Machine, the big issue in Chicago politics.

NATIONAL LAWYERS GUILD

Left-wing lawyers rebuff Maoists

By Gina Lobaco

SAN FRANCISCO

THE MANAGERS OF THE SAN Francisco Hotel probably had little idea of what the National Lawyers Guild was when arrangements were made there to hold the Guild's national convention. They soon found out. No group of conventional attorneys, 100 members of the organization descended upon the Victorian-era hotel for the four-day convention (Feb. 15-18) in an array that harkened back to the countercultural days of a decade ago.

There were quite a lot of things one doesn't see too much anymore—Che T-shirts, men with waist-length hair and other delegates bedecked in assorted imported funky accoutrements. Posters directing participants to workshops on "Gays and Women in Cuba," "Fighting the Death Penalty in Prison," "Attacks from the Right" and "Marxism and the Law" soon decorated the lobby.

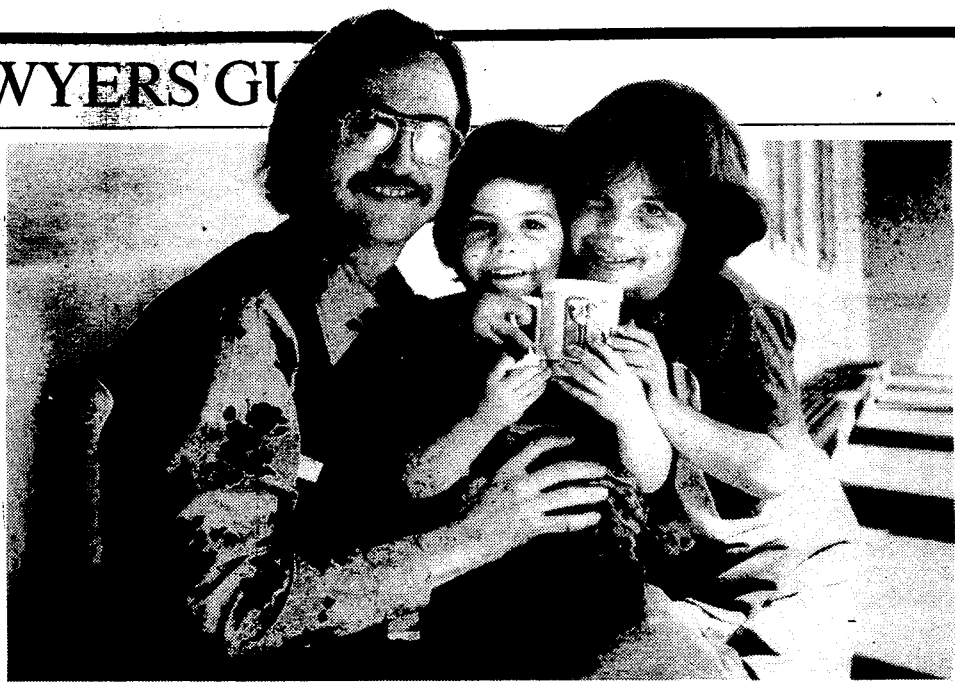
Often described as "the legal arm of the left," the Guild today numbers more than 6000 lawyers, legal workers, jail-house lawyers, law students, judges and law professors in 54 chapters across the U.S. Conventions are held every 18 months to elect national leadership. Guild members are involved in almost every is-

sue on the left, a situation that makes for a broad base, little cohesion and much confusion.

For example, the theme of this convention—"Attacks from the Right on Gays and Women"—was almost entirely overshadowed when word was received on the third day that China had invaded Vietnam. The news had a special impact because the Guild has been rocked in recent years by small but stridently vocal ultra-leftist groups who have tried to push the organization to adopt a line on certain issues (notably a pro-Chinese, anti-Soviet socialist imperialism stance) and to argue old points of theory such as the "Black Nation" debate.

Guild is unique.

But despite the occasional factionalism, the Guild is unique on the American left. Its membership encompasses most organized leftist groups—including in various numbers the Revolutionary Communist Party (RCP), the Communist Labor Party (CLP), New American Movement (NAM), Communist Party (Marxist-Leninist), Communist Party U.S.A., Worker's Viewpoint Organization, Socialist Workers' Party (SWP), Communist Party U.S.A. (Marxist-Leninist, formerly MLOC), International Socialists (IS) and the Spartacists' League. Despite such diversity and serious divisions among members, the organization stays together.



National Lawyers Guild president-elect Paul Harris with his children.

Two of these groups—the CP (M-L) (formerly October League) and the RCP—formed an "Anti-Imperialist Caucus" within the Guild to advance their positions but have, predictably, split just recently. They are a small faction, to be sure; the Caucus' presidential candidate, Rob Kropp, totaled 58 votes with the overwhelming majority (389) going to San Francisco attorney Paul Harris.

Harris' victory came as no surprise to anyone. Generally regarded as a thankless task, the Guild's presidential candidacy was vacant for several weeks with the Caucus running unopposed until Harris tossed his hat into the ring.

Best known for his creation of the "Black rage" defense in which he successfully argued that blacks often commit crimes out of the sheer frustration of living in white America, Harris is a quiet softspoken fellow who foresees the Guild as having to tread a path between "sectarianism and liberalism." A self-described Marxist, Harris' own involvement on the left has ranged from the Berkeley Free Speech Movement to his work as co-counsel on the Huey Newton defense and the trial of "Los Siete."

Nine years ago he was one of the co-founders of the San Francisco Community Law Collective, which acts as house counsel for numerous Bay Area community groups. His coworkers have agreed to a year's leave for him which, he feels, will enable him to pursue his Guild duties.

from such conservative columnists as William Buckley. Harris voiced concern about this and admitted the Guild had some problems with its press image. "We can't even get out a decent news release," he said.

The Guild's press problems were in abundant evidence at the convention. I heard conflicting stories about press policy, was barred from some meetings and confronted with downright arrogance and hostility even after showing credentials and identification from the "legitimate left press."

But despite its flaws, the Guild has much to its credit. During its 40-year history, it has very much paralleled the changing status of the American left. At its inception during the Great Depression, the Guild assisted the labor movement in its efforts to achieve union recognition and supported the New Deal programs of Franklin Roosevelt.

During the war years, the Guild engaged in such activities as lobbying for an anti-poll tax law and litigation opposing the exclusion of blacks from primary elections in the South. The Guild also worked to expose the failure of the House Un-American Activities Committee (HUAC) to prosecute Nazi subversives operating in the U.S.

During the Cold War era, when the fortunes of both the Guild and the left were on the decline, the Guild came to the defense of political figures who were victims of McCarthyism. Many Guild members were themselves victims and membership sank to a low of 600.

With the rise of the civil rights movements in the late '50s and early '60s, however, the Guild's activity and membership began to revive. Responding to the numerous confrontations between black militants and state governments, the Guild provided legal services in the South by establishing an office in Jackson, Miss., in support of the Mississippi Freedom Summer of 1964.

Throughout the Vietnamese war, the Guild came to the aid of activists and demonstrators and assisted the antiwar movement by holding conferences on draft and military law, training draft counselors, and counseling draft resisters. The Chicago 7, Harrisburg 8 and Pentagon Papers trials were but three of many cases for which Guild attorneys provided legal assistance.

ELECTIONS

Two socialists elected to Santa Cruz council



Frontrunner Michael Rotkin

By Bruce Dancis

SANTA CRUZ, CAL.

ON MARCH 6, VOTERS IN SANTA Cruz, Cal., elected two self-proclaimed "Democratic socialist-feminists" to the City Council. Finishing first and second in a field of 19 candidates were Mike Rotkin, a University of California lecturer, and member of the New American Movement (see *ITT*, Feb. 28), and Bruce Van Allen, a community activist.

Fine weather and an energetic campaign helped turn out nearly 53 percent of the registered voters in this northern California city of nearly 40,000. Rotkin received the most votes, 5707, with Van Allen close behind at 5624. Two conservative incumbents also were elected, finishing about 200 and 400 votes, respectively, behind Van Allen.

The defeated candidates included one incumbent, several conservatives who had been supported by the city's only daily

newspaper, *The Sentinel*, and two progressives informally allied with Rotkin and Van Allen.

A preliminary analysis of the election results suggests voting patterns based on income differences. Rotkin told *IN THESE TIMES*, "The areas Bruce and I did well in were the moderate and low income neighborhoods, plus the campus precincts. There were a number of areas, particularly upper income neighborhoods in the northern rim of the city, where we received practically no votes at all."

Van Allen sees his and Rotkin's victory as being important in two ways. "It's going to provide a voice on the Santa Cruz City Council for people and concerns that have been neglected, such as neighborhood participation and decision-making, housing, and growth," he explained. Secondly, he said, "We won by taking strong stands expressing progressive and socialist-feminist orientations to local politics."

Rotkin echoed this sentiment, saying, "We proved that you can run on the issues and win."

Neither Rotkin nor Van Allen see their victory as an end point. "The main thing I hope for," says Rotkin, "is that the people who worked on this campaign will continue as a political movement committed to giving working and retired people control over their city."

The two socialists take office next week, joining a City Council whose composition also includes one progressive and four conservatives. It is likely that their first fight will come immediately, as the council has to choose the city's mayor from its ranks.

Traditionally, the member receiving the largest number of votes—in this case, Rotkin—is chosen mayor. Whether Santa Cruz Council members will follow tradition and select the city's first socialist mayor should no doubt be of considerable interest both in Santa Cruz and around the country.

Guild will broaden activities.

With a "nonsexist and democratic leadership," Harris hopes to see the Guild broaden its political involvement and move beyond its current factionalist problems. He resists the notion of the Guild becoming "an alternative bar" and thus "respectable."

Viewing the growing rightward trend in the nation as exerting subtle ideological forces that will be more difficult to combat, Harris wants the Guild to become tighter organizationally but remain true to its radical purposes.

Harris is quick to admit the difficulties he will probably encounter as the Guild's organizational head, but he feels he has a lot of support and that the most significant portion of it comes from his family.

The Guild has recently become the focus of right-wing attacks, especially

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AMERICAN AGRICULTURAL MOVEMENT



American Agricultural Movement farmers assemble during House hearings.

Jo Freeman

The farmers take their case to Hill

By Jo Freeman

WASHINGTON

FARMERS FROM THE AMERICAN Agricultural Movement (AAM) confronted members of the House Agricultural Committee during four days of hearings last month held to review present programs. The hearings were called in response to the thousands of farmers who drove tractors to Washington, D.C., during January to demand increased price supports from the Department of Agriculture (USDA).

In the give-and-take of the hearings, it became clear that a stalemate exists between the farmers' needs for protection against spiralling costs and food consumers' need for protection against inflation.

Focus of the hearings was a bill (H.J. Res. 144) to require the Secretary of Agriculture to provide loans to farmers for milk, wheat, corn, soybeans and cotton equal to 90 percent of the parity price. The Secretary can legally provide loans up to 90 percent, but is not required to do so. Current loans for these commodities range from 40 to 55 percent of parity except for milk where support is at the 70 percent level.

The loan rates provide a floor for commodity prices by obligating the government to loan farmers participating in its programs an amount per unit produced set by the Secretary of Agriculture. Farmers have nine months to repay the loan, plus interest, or the government acquires ownership of the crop. If market prices rise above what the farmers owe, they repay the government and sell at the higher price. If prices remain below the loan rate, farmers are in effect guaranteed that amount for the crops.

The government in turn is forbidden to put the commodities it owns on the market unless the price rises significantly above parity. This prevents the government from competing with farmers in the open market and thus driving prices back down.

The parity price of a particular commodity is the price that would give a bushel of wheat or a pound of beef the same purchasing power that it had in the base period of 1910-1914. The concept was

developed during the Depression and incorporated into public policy in the Agricultural Adjustment Act of 1933.

According to the AAM, 1910-1914 was picked because there was little inflation, low unemployment, the country was not at war, and there was "an appropriate relationship" between the income of farmers and non-farmers. However, the USDA says that this period was not chosen because of any inherent fairness in the prevailing price ratios, but because in 1933

some farmers have been receiving less for their crops than the cost of producing them.

How farmers dealt with this "squeeze" was described by newly elected Congress member Marvin Leath (D-TX). "As a country banker, I began to notice that my customers were more frequently asking to increase the loans on their land and their equipment. These farmers and ranchers were, in fact, themselves subsidizing the cost of food to the American and foreign

by another 2.1 percent, an increase in the unemployment rate to 7.9 percent, and a decrease in the GNP by 1 percent.

Patty Stulp, a farmer and rancher from Yuma, Colo., challenged the likelihood of such drastic effects resulting from 90 percent parity. "I don't think anyone will deny the price of food will go up," she said. But she added, "It is time to approach this topic realistically."

"There is approximately three cents worth of wheat in a loaf of bread. Less than 10 percent of the price paid for cornflakes goes to pay for the corn used. It is important to note that the major raise in raw farm commodities will be the commodities with the smallest impact on the consumer food bill. Also, raising the price of wheat or corn will not raise the cost of handling that product once it leaves the farm gate. A bushel of corn weighs 56 pounds whether it costs \$2.00 or \$3.50. It will cost no more to transport, package, process or market the product."

Stulp added that "last year the average consumer spent only 16.8 percent of income for food. That compares to over 17 percent for recreation.... If there are to be subsidies to low-income groups, it has to come from the entire population, not the efforts of less than 4 percent of the country."

Expanding foreign markets.

A major question raised by some Congress members who support higher incomes for farmers is whether 90 percent parity would exacerbate the problem. Berkley Bedell (D-IA) argued that increased price supports would primarily benefit the biggest producers, giving them the capital to buy still more land, thus raising land prices and making it even more difficult for young people to enter farming.

He introduced legislation to eliminate surplus grain by requiring farmers to make it available for subsidized gasohol production—a substitute for gasoline. Bedell argued that his program would "eliminate massive carry-over stocks of grain which are detrimental to grain markets, produce enough ethanol to replace 2 billion gallons of gasoline per year, worth \$600 million, and set the stage for government

Farmers say rising costs kill their profits, but consumers fear solutions at their expense.

"no other basis of comparison...was possible due to lack of data."

Although the parity formula has been adjusted several times, the USDA feels that vast changes in technology and production invalidate it as a useful index. In particular, parity calculations do not take into account the dramatic increase in the productive capacity of an acre of land since the base period. "Thus even as a measurement of farm purchasing power, the parity concept is defective," according to the USDA.

Cost-price squeeze.

The major concern expressed by farmers at the hearings was that they were caught in a cost-price squeeze. Charles Rhodes, executive vice president of the Minnesota Association of Wheat Growers stated, "It is evident that costs of the various items we have to buy are increasing at a rate far greater than in the past and certainly out of bounds for our present income." Listing some of the purchases farmers must make to produce their crops, he pointed out that recent increases in the price of oil had a major effect on farmers as they rely more and more on energy rather than labor for their high yields.

Because the farmers more than any other industry operate in a "free market" economy, they have even less control over the prices they receive than those they pay. Consequently, for the last couple years,

consumers by continuing to borrow money on their fixed and personal assets in order to stay in business."

Although few opponents of 90 percent parity testified at the hearings, many believe that the cost-price squeeze is temporary and will work itself out over time. But Rep. Peter Peyser (D-NY) was concerned that "the first effect of a full-parity program based on loans and purchases would be a steep rise in food prices coupled with a decline in consumption. That in turn could further fuel inflation enough to erode any real gain in consumer income next year."

When he quoted estimates of a 15 to 18 percent increase in food prices resulting from 90 percent parity, his figures were challenged by the farmers. Identifying his source as the USDA won Peyser hisses from the audience, but when he added that if the calculations were wrong, the responsible Agriculture officials should be dismissed, he got an ovation.

Peyser's position was backed by Robert Wager, president of the American Bankers Association, who reported that his association had requested Chase Econometrics, an economic research and consulting firm, to program 90 percent parity into its computer model of the economy. The probable effects by 1981 of H.J. Res. 144 were reported to be an additional 9 percent increase in the food bill over what it is currently projected to be, an increase in the overall inflation rate

Continued on page 8.

CIVIL LIBERTIES

Son of S-1 gets a hearing in House

Rep. Robert Drinan is pushing the new criminal code through. He claims he has gotten concessions from sponsor Kennedy.

By John Fleming

VETERAN CIVIL LIBERTIES lobbyist Frank Wilkinson is a friend of Massachusetts Representative Robert Drinan, and until recently he always counted on the Jesuit priest's support in Congress. But Wilkinson, director of the National Committee Against Repressive Legislation, isn't so sure about his ally anymore—not after Drinan, new chairman of the House Judiciary Subcommittee on Criminal Justice, began hearings in February on a 700-page "omnibus" bill revising the federal criminal code, a bill that Wilkinson says is "the most repressive piece of legislation ever written." Among other provisions, the bill is bound to include an act that forbids private citizens from correspondence with foreign governments, an extension of federal power to wiretap without a court order, and a raft of restrictions on public gatherings.

Even worse, according to Wilkinson, the bill has a good chance of passing into law because Drinan has knuckled under to pressure from Sen. Edward Kennedy of Massachusetts, a sponsor of the codification effort, who is pushing it hard from his powerful new position as chair-

man of the Senate Judiciary Committee. "Drinan's been seduced by Kennedy," Wilkinson said. "It's a big ego trip, and like everyone else he expects Kennedy to be President and doesn't want to cross him."

Criminal code reform has been kicked around by Congress for a long time. There's no question that it's needed, since there has never been a clear code of criminal acts, or their appropriate sentences, in the U.S. By and large, criminal laws have been passed by Congress as they were needed. This has produced a pattern of duplication—for example, federal criminal law contains 80 sections on forgery and counterfeiting and 70 on theft—and plenty of obsolete law, such as one statute against interfering with federal carrier pigeons, and another about seducing female passengers on steamships.

Johnson initiated bill.

The effort to clean up the mess began when a commission to review the code was set up by President Johnson in 1966. The original bill, Senate Bill 1, was introduced in 1971, but it was all but buried by attempts, encouraged especially by the Nixon administration, to extend and rewrite parts of the law.

Finally in 1977, after nothing but failure and controversy, the bill was revived by Senators Kennedy and the late John McClellan of Arkansas. By reworking S.1—it became S.1437—they, along with Attorney General Griffin Bell, reached a compromise of sorts between liberal and conservative views on criminal justice.

The heart of the bill was a proposal for new sentencing procedures, establishing the characteristics of each federal offense—how violent it was, the age of the offender, and so on—and adding them up to reach a fixed sentence. Though several

of S.1's most controversial sections were dropped—an expansion of the death penalty, for example—the bill remained generally conservative.

In a way, it was a shrewd move by Kennedy, as it turned him into a force to be reckoned with on the right, but didn't appreciably damage his position as overall point figure for the traditional left.

Kennedy breezed through.

Early last year Kennedy marched S.1437 through the Senate by a vote of 72 to 15, with support from such opposites as S.I. Hayakawa of California and Gaylord Nelson of Wisconsin. However, the House doesn't have a Kennedy-type strongman to godfather bills through it and the criminal code reform bill (there, H.R.6869) was voted down last fall by the House Judiciary Subcommittee on Criminal Justice, chaired then by now-retired James Mann of South Carolina.

After spending 16 days on the bill, the subcommittee found it "fraught with pitfalls" and "not legislatively feasible." In discussing it, Mann rejected a single omnibus bill and argued for an "incremental approach"—that is, processing a series of bills making changes in specific areas of criminal law.

The omnibus approach, he said, "results in a tremendous pressure to agree to things in order not to hold up the legislation." This legislative "horsetrading," Mann said, produces bad law. Mann also said the omnibus bill would result in increased crowding in federal prisons and would add about 185,000 new cases to the yearly federal caseload.

A stand-off.

After the subcommittee stopped the bill last fall, the standoff between the Senate and House was a perfect situation, ac-



Frank Wilkinson

cording to Wilkinson, who urged Drinan to "sit" on the bill when it came to his subcommittee. But Drinan didn't; instead, he announced that criminal code reform was his top priority and scheduled early hearings on the bill. According to Drinan, he's received concessions from Kennedy on the major civil liberties provisions and will be free to draft a "model bill." But Drinan is deluding himself, says Wilkinson. "The House is so bad now that if Drinan's bill reached the floor it would be turned into a right-wing Christmas tree—they'd hang so many amendments on it, and the first one slapped on would be the death penalty. It would be a repressive monster, and we'd find ourselves in conference committee looking at Kennedy's bill as the liberal alternative."

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ALABAMA

"I don't see how a person can put up with all this."

By Tom Gordon

MONTGOMERY, ALA.

THREE YEARS AFTER HE ORDERED sweeping reforms for Alabama's antiquated prison system, U.S. District Judge Frank M. Johnson Jr. has found it necessary to give the state's governor the power to see that the reforms are accomplished.

Fob James, an efficiency-minded businessman who surprisingly won the governor's seat last fall, was appointed receiver for the prison system Feb. 2. He had asked Johnson for the job, believing it to be the only way to get the prison bureaucracy to upgrade decaying facilities and construct new ones.

The new governor moved with the backing of legislative leaders. Lt. Gov. George McMillan and Atty. Gen. Charles Graddick—all of whom believed mismanagement and lack of leadership were making it impossible for the system to move swiftly on court-ordered reforms.

Johnson, in characteristic fashion, put the problem in blunt perspective when he turned the system over to James.

"Time does not stand still, but the Board of Corrections and the Alabama Prison System have for six years," he said. "Their time now has run out. The court can no longer brook non-compliance with the clear command of the constitution."

As the court's receiver, James has complete control as long as Johnson approves. The five-member board of corrections, which under law had set policies and priorities, has been rendered powerless. The corrections department staff, headed by Commissioner Larry Bennett, is now under James' direct orders.

"We are going to meet this issue head-on and do the best we can," James said when he took the helm.

Barbed-wire enema.

That sentiment differs markedly from the ones expressed by state officials when Johnson issued his 1976 order. The chief verbal dart-thrower was none other than Johnson's arch-enemy, then-Gov. George Wallace. Wallace was about to launch another presidential bid and he apparently felt the need to talk tough.

"Thugs and federal judges seem to be running the country," Wallace said. Johnson's reforms would "bring a hotel atmosphere and catering service" to inmates. He went even further, saying a "barbed-wire enema" might be just the thing for some federal judges.

Meeting the prison problem will involve money the financially strapped state can't come up with all at once. But James' leadership will provide one direction to a prison system that seems to be going in many.

There is plenty to be done. In his 1976 order, Johnson said conditions at the prisons constituted "cruel and unusual punishment." He criticized the system's rampant violence and "jungle atmosphere."

Said the judge, "Prisoners are not to be coddled and prisons are not to be operated as hotels or country clubs. However, this does not mean that responsible state officials, including the Alabama legislature, can be allowed to operate prison facilities that are barbaric and inhumane."

His order involved a laundry list of reforms. They included a classification system to separate first offenders from hardened criminals, improved security, with guards stationed inside the four main prisons' sleeping quarters at night, improved medical care, better sanitation, adequate

Gov. Fob James has been empowered to reform Alabama's decrepit prisons.

living space for each inmate, and meaningful work programs.

Johnson, who is a likely appointee to a vacancy on the Fifth U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals in New Orleans, has been called Alabama's "real governor" because of his many rulings that have dramatically broadened the scope of the federal judiciary.

"A hell hole."

In 1972, he ruled that mentally ill inmates in the state system were entitled to proper care and treatment. When a suit on prison conditions came before his court in August 1975, the state admitted the system's conditions constituted cruel and unusual punishment.

Before the six-day hearing ended, he ordered the system's punitive isolation units closed until they were cleaned up. The following day, he and another federal judge ordered prison officials not to take in any more inmates than the system



Alabama Gov. Fob James.

was designed to hold.

At the time, the system's four main institutions were holding about 3700 prisoners—1500 above their capacity. In some prisons, inmates were sleeping on floors and faced rats, roaches, stench and the threat of violence.

"I don't see how a person can put up with all this," an inmate wrote at the time. "They don't give you underclothes down here. No toothpaste. No deodorant. One shower a week. I mean, this is nothing but a hell hole."

"You had to sleep like an opossum—

you know, one eye open," a former inmate said recently. "It makes you think, 'Damn, what kind of society did I come out of, and if my society is supposed to be so good, why is there this?'"

Such conditions, Johnson said in 1976, "create an environment in which it is impossible for inmates to rehabilitate themselves...even for those who are inclined to."

Three years later, little has changed. Johnson's latest memo could have been confused in part with the text of his earlier statements.

MISSISSIPPI

Coalition exposes the New South

By Jay D. Jurie

JACKSON, MISS.

THE MISSISSIPPI HUNGER COALITION seeks to explode the booster image of the "New South." "While welfare commissioners come and go, the problems remain the same," says Rick Abraham of the Hunger Coalition. "We want Carter to admit the myth of progress in the South is just that—a myth."

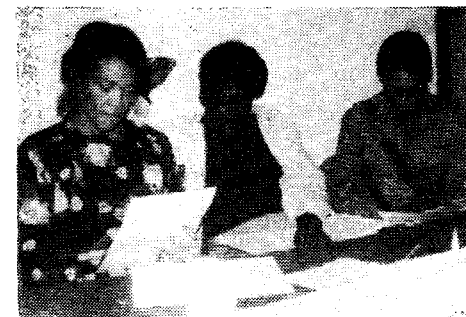
Formed in 1976 to help build and support community-based grass-roots organizations, the Hunger Coalition has exposed the substandard working and living conditions at egg farms. It has supported civil rights boycotts and labor strikes. But it has focused most of its energy on the glaring inadequacies of the U.S. Department of Agriculture's food stamps program.

Largely through workshops organized in localities across Mississippi, the Hunger Coalition has mobilized dissatisfaction with the program.

After a workshop in Jefferson Davis County early last year, about 200 participants gathered at the welfare department office that administers the food stamp program locally. Demanding to speak with the director about violations in the program, 44 persons were arrested at closing time.

Those arrested filed charges against the State Welfare Department District Chief and the County Welfare Director. In an unprecedented move in Mississippi, these officials were arrested by local sheriff's deputies the next day.

Later that month, people from throughout the state travelled to the state capitol in Jackson to talk about food stamp problems with Gov. Cliff Finch. One hundred fifty persons refused to leave the governor's office and, after a nine-hour wait, at 10:30 p.m., the governor appeared and promised an investigation.



Coalition examines records.

When convened, the investigating committee refused to accept evidence of flagrant program violations in 40 cases offered by Jefferson Davis County Welfare Rights Organization and the Hunger Coalition. The investigation was ultimately discredited when it was learned two of the committee had loyalties to the welfare department.

Its own hearings.

During fall 1978, the U.S. Department of Agriculture began to investigate complaints of violations within the Food Stamp Program. Joined by chapters which had formed throughout the South as the Council of Southern Hunger Coalitions, activists began to protest the scope and impact of these hearings.

Along with other chapters of the Council, the Mississippi Hunger Coalition sponsored public hearings of its own in Jackson, Miss., during mid-January, which revealed endemic patterns of neglect and abuse in the U.S. Dept. of Agriculture's administration of the Food Stamp Program.

Witnesses testified to unnecessary verification to obtain food stamp certification, "unavailability" of emergency food stamps, requirements demanding separate households for applicant certification in areas where severe housing crises exist, intimidation of food stamp clients by bureaucratic procedures and food stamp personnel, participation of less than half

those eligible in the program, lax USDA guidelines that allow states to establish subjective administrative criteria, and inadequate or nonexistent fair hearing procedures for applicants denied stamps.

Sister Beverly Weidner, a Franciscan nun working with the Holmes County Assistance Program (HCAP) in Lexington, Miss., told of an illiterate, unemployed, elderly man required to fill out complex forms with no assistance and to make almost daily appearances at the food stamp office. The office persistently demanded to know when he intended to go back to work. The man was declared eligible and certified only after HCAP became actively involved in the case.

A woman earning the minimum wage, forced to support an incapacitated sister and four nephews and nieces, was twice denied stamps. She was told her sister would have to move into her own household to qualify. She then attempted to build a separate household from scrap materials in order to satisfy the requirement. According to MacArthur Hibbler, chair of the Hunger Coalition, "The problem of separate households is paramount. People do not want to double up."

A family whose home burned was denied emergency relief, after being told no emergency existed. In a separate incident, a woman was required to furnish 55 pages of verification.

When asked whether the new food stamp regulations going into effect this year were going to make any difference, Ola Moore from the Dallas USDA office said she wasn't sure. Panelist Cynthia Schneider, representing the Washington, D.C.-based Food Research and Action Center, said that "if the new regulations are administered as written, more people should be eligible and have access to the program. We should witness progress, but in practice we won't. People are frustrated in dealing with food stamps, and that's why they're not participating."

Byrne liberal

Continued from page 3.

fairly, ending the most-favored-ward status of key Bilandic and Daley insiders and thus disrupt the old party power structures.

Byrne's moves will weaken patronage some, but the system was already in decline with a court ruling against political firings, another expected soon prohibiting political hiring, enactment two years ago of a new personnel code that mandates elimination of temporary employees and a gradual shift toward more administrative professionalism under Daley, which Byrne will continue.

A chance for democratization.

The gradual weakening of patronage will mean that candidates and ward bosses will have to resort more to conventional means of political appeal, thus providing a chance for slight democratization of the party apparatus and the rise of more assertive, independent candidates and a decline of black ward "plantation politics."

Already the shifts of power have wrought minor transformations in the city council. A group of "reluctant rebels" combined with the independents to stop an effort to guarantee the police superintendent a six-year contract, part of a Bilandic effort to make as many long-term appointments as possible before his term is over. Their move signaled a willingness to work with Byrne's administration and a rejection of their subordination to Vrdolyak and Burke in the council.

The same group is trying to redistribute committee powers as well, leading to less concentration of council control. "Everyone will come in [to council meetings] with one vote now," "rebel" Ald. Richard Mell says. "No longer will we have to vote against something we or our constituency strongly believes in."

Council power may become more dis-



On March 5, the Supreme Court declined to review the murder conviction of Leonard Peltier, a leader of the American Indian Movement. Peltier was one of four Native-Americans indicted for the murder of two FBI agents in a shootout at Pine Ridge Reservation on June 26, 1976. No one was charged with the murder of a Native-American killed at the same time. Two of those indicted were acquitted on grounds of self-defense, and charges against the third were dropped after it was shown that he was in Arizona at the time of the shooting. Peltier was in Canada during the trial of the others and after extradition, convicted on the same evidence. His defense committee has asked the United Nations, Amnesty International and House Judiciary Committee to investigate the circumstances surrounding the shootout and Peltier's conviction.

persed, leading to possible shifting blocs and alliances, but it will undoubtedly increase for the body as a whole. Chicago has a formal weak mayor/strong council charter, although Daley added some formal powers to the mayor's office as well as exercising formidable informal power as head of the party. Now long-deferential aldermen are talking about the council exercising its initiative more. That will be a check on Byrne's power in office, but it seems unlikely that the council will be a monolithic force in opposition.

One big question is what will happen with the black council bloc, and with the black voters. Byrne will undoubtedly move to bring more blacks, possibly some who have broken ranks with the Machine, into her administration. As black newspaper publisher Gus Savage argues, her vindictiveness toward some antagonists within the Machine may indirectly free black politicians from much present interference and domination. But now there are no legitimate power brokers to act on behalf of the big black protest vote, Savage says, and there is the possibility that Byrne may become as disconnected from real black community needs and sentiments as Bilandic was. If so, he and state Sen. Harold Washington, a contender against Bilandic two years ago, both maintain that black voters are likely to rebel against her in favor of a black mayor now that they realize their electoral strength.

Byrne more liberal.

Despite the openings for progressive politics made by Byrne's victory, the old opposition forces themselves will have to change dramatically and will still face serious problems. First, as Ira Katznelson, author of *Black Men, White Cities*, argues, the old Daley machine not only kept the traditional patronage and ward politics vision but fused it with the substantive policies of standard reform and growth mayors, thus completely dominating the political agenda. The Byrne administration is likely to be a more liberal continuation of that fused tradition.

But without a Daley tyrant to oppose, and with Byrne representing many classic "reform" urban policies, what do the "independents" have to offer? Michael Holewinski, a young anti-Machine candidate for alderman in a fairly prosperous working-class ward, notes that more of the regular Democrats in areas threatened by the independents have shifted their image and rhetoric to encompass the independent appeal. Byrne's election now, he adds, "raises the question of who an 'independent' is. Everyone may become 'independent.'"

Bob Creamer, director of Illinois Public Action Council, a progressive statewide federation of community groups that works with both machine and independent legislators, sees a similar development: "For a long time the political dialogue was over Machine/anti-Machine. Byrne's victory will help make economic issues and ideology more salient factors in the county and the state."

That poses new problems for the fragments of oppositional politics—middle-class reformers; high-rise dwellers threatened by condominium conversions; blacks denied access to government posts, employment, education and public services; Latinos trying to break into the city structures; disgruntled white working class homeowners who want to preserve their old neighborhoods. Now that they have succeeded in coalescing in a negative vote against the worst of the old Machine, can they find a common positive program and organization that will change Chicago to satisfy their varied interests?

Farmers

Continued from page 5.

withdrawal from feed grain subsidies by establishing a commercial use for surplus grain."

Although farmers were sympathetic to the production of gasohol, and some carried signs to that effect on their tractors, no one else at the hearings either supported or opposed Bedell's idea.

Instead, the farmers focused on how to increase foreign markets. Several people argued that the U.S. produced such a substantial portion of world wheat supplies that it could easily control the world market price for wheat. "Imported oil should teach us that price has very little to do with demand if the need is present, and the need for U.S. food and fiber is not disputed," Ron Chase of Colby, Kan., said.

Arguing that the price floors set by the USDA is a major price determinant on the world market, he asserted that "in agricul-

tural production we expose ourselves to trade deficits twice, once when oil is imported at prices higher than domestic oil and second when we export our product at less than the cost of production. In reality, we are buying oil at above 100 percent parity, running it through the farm factory where it is mixed with labor, land and management, then sold back for 54 percent of parity, less than the cost of production.

"We have to buy the oil at an agreed upon price, which produces a profit to those oil producing countries. Why don't we make up some of the difference when we sell our product?"

The idea of a "grain cartel" is being pursued seriously by the American Agricultural Movement. Grain farmers from Australia, Canada and the U.S. met February 21 to discuss the possible formation of an International Grain Exporters Agreement. Together, these three countries export over 70 percent of the world's wheat. The AAM said this proposal was triggered by the unsuccessful ending of the International Wheat Agreement talks in Geneva recently.

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IN THE WORLD

SPANISH ELECTIONS

Election boosts the Suarez regime and Basque terrorists

By Diana Johnstone

MADRID

BLAND CONSERVATIVE "CENTRISM," Basque terrorism and political apathy were the big winners in Spain's March 1 parliamentary elections. Felipe Gonzalez's Socialist Workers Party (PSOE), which had hoped to outpoll Prime Minister Adolfo Suarez's Union of the Democratic Center (UCD) by appearing even more centrist, was the loser, though by only one seat.

Promising "firmness" in dealing with unemployment and terrorism, but scarcely any changes, Gonzalez lost the reassuring immobility contest to Suarez, who promised no changes at all.

Around this motionless center, the only movement was provided by the centrifugal forces of regional autonomy. In the Basque country, three nationalist parties won an absolute majority, and most startling of all, the one—Herri Batasuna—that supports ETA military actions won 20 percent of the vote in the Basque provinces of Guipuzcoa and Biscay. The three successful Herri Batasuna candidates will not take their seats in the Madrid Congress, which they scorn, now that they have made their point, namely that ETA is not practicing "individual terrorism" but enjoys broad popular support in Euzkadi for its violent operations.

The Basque vote could be expected to encourage the military branch of ETA and feed fears in the Spanish armed forces that the Suarez government is not strong enough to keep Spain from being "Balkanized."

Catalonia, which seeks only a reasonable measure of regional autonomy, voted heavily as before for its own Catalan Socialist and Communist parties, linked to the national parties. But in underdeveloped Andalusia far to the south, a separatist socialist party invisible in the last elections suddenly emerged with five seats, and separatists also improved their scores in the Canary Islands.

One-third abstain.

Spanish Socialists attributed their loss to this flareup of regionalism rather than to their Communist rivals. But Santiago Carrillo's party was pleased with its own modest gains. By crossing the 10 percent threshold, winning 23 seats, the Communist party (PCE) felt it had saved itself from being squeezed out of a bipartisan UCD-PSOE setup.

Hogging government-controlled television throughout a sluggish campaign, the ruling UCD edged closer to an absolute majority of the 350 seats in the Congress, gaining one more seat (with about 34 percent of the vote) to bring their total to 167. Thus it could continue to rule alone, picking up support from a few regional representatives, without being forced into a center-left coalition with the PSOE, which fell back from 122 seats to 121, with 29 percent of the vote, compared to 33.7 percent in 1977.

With its labor base in the Workers Commissions and prospects for a better showing in the country's first post-Franco municipal elections scheduled for next April 3, the PCE has an important role to play, despite the problems of emerging from 40 years underground.

The PSOE thus failed not only to take

The Socialist party tried to win a majority by moving to the center, but they lost votes.

over the center, but also to assert itself as the party of the left to the extent that the UCD asserted its hegemony over the right. The far right, recently reorganized by Manuel Fraga, Alfonso Osorio and Jose Maria de Areilza as the "Democratic Coalition," won only 5 percent of the vote. The fascist National Union, with 1 percent of the vote, just managed to elect its leader, Blas Pinar, in Madrid.

But the biggest winners of all seemed to be the worst enemies of the left: apathy and depoliticization.

A third of the voters abstained, compared to 21 percent in 1977. "Disenchantment" was the word used repeatedly by commentators throughout the campaign to describe the public attitude toward democratic politics, some three years after the Franco regime died of old age.

True, the March 1 elections seemed largely superfluous. Suarez called them after the new compromise constitution was ratified last December, in order to have a new parliament elected "under the constitution." He managed to time the elections to coincide with a wave of strikes, putting the parliamentary left parties on the defensive in an atmosphere dominated by the demand for "law and order."

Both the PSOE and the PCE accept the constraints of a political freedom that has distinct limits, so long as the fascist state's repressive apparatus is still intact and manned by officers who served Franco. The PCE is particularly aware that the armed forces and the banks, not to mention the U.S. and West Germany, will not stand for Communists in the Spanish government. The PCE could not run as a potential governing party, but rather as a responsible pressure group, always ready to offer to cooperate in working out broad united approaches to key problems. Carrillo's party could hope for nothing better than being allowed to support a PSOE-UCD coalition from the outside.

For a while, this enabled the PSOE to take a more "leftist" stance by daring to suggest that it might govern without the UCD. But to make this suggestion credible, the PSOE itself moved farther to the right, leaving opposition space on the left to the PCE.

Stressing their moderation, Socialists and Communists counted on the elections mainly to help consolidate the democratic practices of the new constitutional monarchy. The catch is that extreme moderation makes for dull elections and scarcely inspires enthusiasm for the ballot box in a population unaccustomed to using it. The democratic practices risk seeming pointless.

Sinking into torpor.

Spain is suffering neither more nor less than other European countries from worsening inflation and unemployment, but here economic recession coincides with the new regime and tends to discredit it. The main contribution of the left parties in dealing with the economic crisis was



Top: Political murals next to Sagrada Familia in Barcelona. Middle: Posters in Madrid. Bottom: Gonzalez poster in Madrid subway.

to hamstring labor for a year by the "Moncloa Pact" with the government.

The parliamentary left has also avoided the crucial issue of replacing fascist officials with new administrators committed to democratic processes. Only the far left has openly stressed the need to purge the state apparatus, while ETA carries on with its own direct approach to the problem by assassinating one police officer after another.

Terrorism was a main campaign issue. The PCE emphasized the need to move ahead with Basque autonomy in order to isolate ETA terrorists, while the PSOE, posing as a potential government party, preferred to stress the need to preserve the unity of Spain. Both promised to fight terrorism by reforming and "modernizing" the police—teach policemen other methods of detective work than torturing prisoners, advised Carrillo.

By keeping the armed forces nervous, ETA terrorism keeps the left on the defensive and stunts the growth of Spanish democracy. But more than fear of a rightist coup may be behind the Spanish left's extreme caution. The uncertainty currently afflicting the entire European left seems especially great in Spain, where the left has been marked not only by 40 years of dictatorship and repression, but also by the various humiliations and disillusionments of exile. Thus there can be found, in and around the PCE, an almost Chinese intensity of anti-Moscow resentment (as

well as hard feelings toward French Communists who "consider France the center of the world"), without the confidence gained by Italian "Eurocommunists" from 30 years of experience in an open political system.

The Spanish left has only negative models and very little practice to go by in seeking a way to democratic socialism. Its caution has been reinforced by the failure of the French left to get elected (blamed on the sectarian attitude of the PCF) and the failure of the Portuguese left to do anything properly when it had the chance. Avoiding Portuguese sectarian agitation, the Spanish left seems to be sinking into torpor.

With the class struggle muted, peripheral areas, which can blame their economic troubles on Madrid's centralism, tend to seek regional rather than political solutions. This is one aspect of the current depoliticization of Spain. Another is that more interest is shown in exercising personal than political freedoms. The Franco regime practiced both sexual and political repression. Now leftist books are on the stands, but it's the pornography magazines that are selling like hotcakes.

"Spain no longer exists," ex-communist writer Carlos Semprun Maura recently concluded. "We are no longer poor, nor proud... No, we have become a sort of southern Switzerland." Still Spanish enough, no doubt, to appreciate the bitterness of the insult.

China wants world power, Viets say



Wilfred Burchett chats with Vietnamese on the site of cooperative project that was halted.

By Wilfred Burchett

PARIS

HOW COULD EVEN A "LIMITED" frontier war between neighboring Communist countries, each with long revolutionary traditions, come about?

The reasons for the Chinese invasion of Vietnam are bound to be difficult and contentious questions for historians and theoreticians for a long time to come—along with the question of how the China of Mao Tse-tung could, with such ease, change its enemies and friends and, while claiming to be the true leader of the world revolution, ally itself with such counter-revolutionaries as Chile's Pinochet.

In the long shadow cast by events, I had long discussions about these questions with Vietnamese leaders, historians and analysts during a month-long visit to Vietnam in December.

The discussions were interspersed with visits to the frontier areas of Kampuchea and China.

If the following conclusions of the Vietnamese experts are correct, some very unpleasant surprises will shake the world far beyond the confines of Indochina by the end of this century.

The decisive year.

1953 was a decisive year in "The Thoughts of Mao Tse-tung." There were two events of capital importance: Stalin died on March 5 and Mao discovered—in Korea—that China could defeat the U.S. in a land war in Asia. Mao interpreted the first event to mean that a power struggle and lack of decisive leadership in the Kremlin would weaken the Soviet Union for years to come. The second indicated that, if the U.S. became bogged down in land wars in Asia, it would also be weakened for years to come.

If China could spread the right type of fertilizer to promote both processes it would buy time to develop an economic and military potential commensurate with its population. If the cards were played right, the Vietnamese believe, by the year 2000 China could become not only a major power, but Number One.

Helped by the undiplomatic antics of Khrushchev and the clumsy way in which he destroyed the image of Stalin, and by the disillusionment within the international communist movement following the revelations of Stalin's terrorism, Mao set up a rival center for world communism.

He fostered the formation of "Marxist-Leninist" Communist parties looking to Peking for leadership in opposition to

It will intrigue historians to discover that China's plans for the future resemble Kissinger's and Brzezinski's.

traditional parties, branded as "revisionist" and linked to Moscow.

Peking hosted an Asian-Pacific peace movement as a rival to the Moscow-sponsored World Peace Council. Mao almost succeeded in setting up an Asian trade union movement in opposition to the Moscow-favored World Federation of Trade Unions.

Whatever else he did, Mao's challenge to Moscow for leadership of the world communist movement, plus the power struggle that continued in the Kremlin until the elimination of Khrushchev in October 1964, contributed to weakening the Soviet Union's role in world affairs. By the same token, this encouraged the U.S. to assume its role of "world gendarme," above all in Indochina.

While it would be absurd to pretend that the escalation of involvement in Vietnam by successive American presidents was inspired by the "Thoughts of Chairman Mao," the extent of that involvement and its duration—the greater and longer the better—may have suited Mao's long-range strategy.

While there can be arguments about motives, certain facts are inescapable. Peking did block military aid from the Soviet Union to Vietnam in the early stages of American intervention. It refused facilities for air-lifted supplies transiting China and created obstacles to rail-borne supplies.

China gave generous military and financial aid as long as Vietnam kept fighting, pinning down a very high proportion of the land, air and naval forces of the U.S.

Although there was apparently no financial accounting for China's aid, there were political bills that Mao expected to be settled. One of these was revealed by Vietnam's ambassador to France, Vo Van Sung, at a press conference at his Paris embassy on Feb. 19, just two days after the invasion.

Hanoi "ungrateful."

"As far back as September 1965," he said, "China wanted us to join in a Peking-Hanoi-Djakarta axis. We refused to be associated with a Communist-led coup aimed at overthrowing the govern-

ment of President Sukarno. The attempted coup failed."

The bungled coup, only half-heartedly supported by the pro-Chinese leadership of the Indonesian Communist party, was a costly failure. All the leaders of the ICP were arrested and executed and, in the bloodbath that ensued, it was estimated that at least several hundred thousand Communist and Communist sympathizers were massacred.

Hanoi's refusal to support the coup was noted as a sign of "ingratitude" and defiance of Peking's concept of "revolutionary internationalism."

Another cloud over Peking-Hanoi relations was Ho Chi Minh's refusal to endorse China's "Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution," especially the recruitment of "Red Guards" among Vietnam's large Chinese community. Like Sihanouk in Cambodia, Ho Chi Minh regarded Peking's attempt to export the "Cultural Revolution" as an affront to his country's sovereignty and an attempt to change its political orientation.

Ho Chi Minh also rejected Chinese pressures to align Vietnam entirely with the Chinese position in the ideological conflict with Moscow. He saw the "Cultural Revolution" as intended to mobilize the 200 million-strong overseas Chinese in Southeast Asia, reinforced by the Peking-sponsored Marxist-Leninist Communist parties in the area, for a long-range expansionist policy that had more to do with Chinese nationalism than revolution.

The question arose whether China's considerable material support for Vietnam's resistance to U.S. aggression was disinterested assistance to Vietnamese independence, or part of China's own plans to exploit contradictions between the world's two super-powers. The question was sharpened by Peking's flirtation with the U.S.

Suspensions of Peking's motives were aroused when the Chinese leadership violently opposed the first North Vietnamese moves, in early 1967, to seek a negotiated settlement to the Vietnam war.

In an interview with North Vietnam's foreign minister, Nguyen Duy Trinh, at the end of January 1967, Nguyen told me

that if U.S. bombings of North Vietnam stopped, talks could start. I was made acutely aware of China's displeasure at a negotiated settlement facilitating military disengagement in Vietnam.

Later I heard of a very blunt expression of this displeasure made by the Chinese directly to the Vietnamese leadership, to the effect that we were paying you to fight, not to waste money on delegations in Paris hotels."

It's not good for the goose.

In discussions with Chinese at the highest levels I could never get a satisfactory explanation of why it had been correct for the Chinese to negotiate an end to the Korean War with the U.S. at Panmunjom, but incorrect for the Vietnamese to try to negotiate an end to the Vietnam War with the U.S. in Paris.

The difference could be that the Panmunjom agreement resulted in a divided Korea with U.S. forces pinned down for an indefinite period in the South, while the negotiations in Paris were aimed at a unified Vietnam and a total withdrawal of U.S. forces from Indochina. This would run counter to Mao's strategy of keeping the U.S. pinned down militarily in many parts of the world.

Reinforcing this view of Peking's policy was its reaction to Hanoi's revelation that they would launch their decisive "end the war" offensive in the spring of 1975. According to information at the highest level in Hanoi, Peking opposed the offensive, advising that the war should continue at a low level for "five, ten or 20 more years."

Mao gave the same advice directly to Kampuchea's Pol Pot.

Informed of Hanoi's intentions, Pol Pot went to Peking to request artillery support to defeat the Lon Nol forces in Phnom Penh and thus coordinate their action with that of the Vietnamese. Mao refused and told Pol Pot to stick to guerilla war.

He would win out "even if it took another ten or 15 years," Mao reportedly said.

A disgruntled Pol Pot went to Hanoi seeking heavy artillery. He got it and gun crews that played the decisive role in the battle for Phnom Penh.

It is significant that, while in New York in January, Sihanouk related that in his last meeting with Chinese deputy prime minister Deng Xiaoping, Deng told him that the war in Cambodia "would continue many years, perhaps 20."

War for China's sake.

The obsession with other countries fighting wars for "20 years" is open to the interpretation that China's present leadership favors "war for war's sake." But it seems more logical to believe that China favors wars and tensions "for China's sake."

The frequent mention of "20 years" is not by chance. It is the period that Chou En-lai described as necessary for China to catch up with the West in modern agricultural, industrial, scientific and military technology. China's achievement of the "four modernizations" by the end of the century would give it a population double that of the U.S. and USSR combined, and with the role of the world's superpower, with the hope of the U.S. and the USSR being weakened by natural antagonisms in the meantime.

"Chinese leadership pushes its anti-Sovietism very far," said one veteran Vietnamese analyst. "It sows mistrust and hostility and tries to push Western Europe into a war with the Soviet Union. They themselves will never fight the Soviet Union, but they will try to push others to do it so that China comes out on top. That is why they change their friends and enemies—but not their long-range aims. Yugoslavia's Tito, for instance, was their worst enemy for a long time and neighboring Albania was their best friend. Now

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the situation is reversed because Tito is more valuable in their campaign to weaken the Soviet Union.

Among the many reasons advanced by Deng for the Vietnam invasion ("to teach a lesson," to "destroy the myth of Vietnam's military invincibility," "to bloody Vietnam's nose") was the statement to foreign diplomats in Peking (*Le Monde*, Feb. 23) that China could not permit Vietnam to have too close a relationship with the USSR.

"We could tolerate a 70 percent Soviet influence," the diplomats were told, "on condition that 30 percent is reserved for China." The statement is the more extraordinary because it was China that pushed Vietnam into closer relations with the Soviet Union than were originally intended.

Aid halted.

I was assured at the highest level that after the Hanoi leadership rejected Peking's advice not to launch the war-winning offensive in the spring of 1975, there was an ultimatum: "If you cooperate with the Soviet Union our aid will be halted." And it was. No more aid was granted after May

1975. Agreements signed during the war were implemented for a time, but by July 1978, all aid projects were halted and Chinese technicians were withdrawn.

Vietnamese leaders believe, however, that the "lesson-teaching" operation has less to do with Vietnam's relations with the Soviet Union than with the fact that their country—today as in the past—represents an obstacle to plans for expansion into Southeast Asia revived by the present Peking leadership, as a key step along the road to becoming a superpower.

If the Vietnam view proves to be correct, it will intrigue the historians and theoreticians to discover that Mao's theories were extraordinarily similar to those of Henry Kissinger and Zbigniew Brzezinski. Except that the latter planned to play off two Communist powers to ensure a victory for the U.S. As the Vietnamese see it, Mao and his successors have been planning to pit the capitalist U.S. against the Communist USSR so that China emerges as the victor. What is difficult to predict is what political or ideological cap China will be wearing by the year 2000. ■

But China fears Soviet 'hegemonism'

By Franz Schurmann

THE WORLDWIDE ALARM OVER the Chinese invasion of Vietnam reflects the fact that China not only has violated the borders of a sovereign neighbor, but also has run the enormous risk of a Sino-Soviet land war that could escalate to nuclear war.

Why have the Chinese taken such a risk by invading a country to whom they were once as close as "the lips to the teeth?"

As events still unfold three explanations can be offered:

•The Chinese were angry over the mounting toll of civilian casualties in the China-Vietnam border fighting and wanted to "teach Vietnam a lesson."

•They sought to divert the estimated 200,000 Vietnamese troops from Cambodia in support of the still-fighting Pol Pot insurgents.

•They decided, for broad policy goals, to "play their American card" by creating a dangerous situation in which the U.S. would have to make one of two choices: either demonstrate support for its informal alliance with China (at the risk of angering the Soviets and damaging the prospects of a SALT agreement), or continue its commitment to U.S.-Soviet detente (at the risk of damaging or abandoning the U.S.-China alliance).

Deng Xiaoping has given the first reason for the invasion. Most Western analysts, considering the Chinese rage over the Vietnamese invasion of Cambodia, with whom China was allied, cite the second explanation.

However, given both the history of Chinese Communist foreign policy and the extreme risk of Sino-Soviet war, only a threat to their broadest goals could have justified such hazardous action.

Testing U.S. sympathies.

They are now testing U.S. sympathies, trying to force America to play the linchpin in a global containment policy against Soviet "hegemonism." Two recent events have given the Chinese a sense of urgency—the Vietnamese seizure of Cambodia last month and the collapse of the Shah. To the Chinese, the Cambodian seizure followed directly out of last year's Soviet-Vietnam alliance and means a massive Soviet entry into Southeast Asia. And the fall of the Shah means Iran's withdrawal from its role as key nation in the Southwest Asia containment policy.

The Chinese conception of the Soviet Union has evolved to the point that they see the Soviets as having the same expansionist drives as Czarist Russia a century

ago, but now equipped with Hitler's capabilities and ambitions.

They see the Soviet Union pressing southward from its landlocked Eurasian vastnesses in search of resources and open seas. Stymied from expanding eastward by China and Japan and westward by NATO, the Soviets now press southward into the Middle East and Africa.

While their thinking smacks of geopolitics, the Chinese are convinced that the Soviets want to take over the world. They also believe that only extraordinary moves will avert World War III.

In the current military conflict, the Chinese have made several risky moves. The Chinese forces now invading Vietnam were withdrawn from the Fukien front where they served to guard against invasion by Taiwan or form the nucleus of an invasion force against Taiwan.

The switch of their Fukien troops was a gesture to the Taiwan lobby in the U.S. This was a concrete way of showing that the Taiwan issue had fallen to low priority in their foreign policy goals.

China has desperate need.

But even more so it highlighted China's desperate need of the U.S. alliance to contain a Soviet expansionism they have been warning against for almost two decades.

The invasion of Vietnam can be interpreted as a "lesson" to the Vietnamese, as Deng said, or be seen as a Chinese warning to the Soviet Union that it will not tolerate an Indochina under Soviet-Vietnamese control. In issuing such a warning, the Chinese are playing their part in what they conceive to be a U.S.-China "united front" against Russia.

How close this U.S.-China relationship has become was revealed by an editorial in the *Takungpao*, an unofficial organ of the Chinese Communists in Hong Kong that often puts things more bluntly than the official Peking media:

"In 1974," said the writer, "Deng Xiaoping still had his eyes on consolidating Second and Third Worlds (in effect, all powers except the two superpowers) to oppose hegemonism; now new international circumstances have brought forth a new possibility and need, namely the formation of a united front including the U.S. to oppose hegemonism in order to preserve world peace and stability."

Not only do the Chinese see the U.S. as an ally in areas where their interests are directly affected, but on a worldwide scale as well. As the same *Takungpao* writer put it: "If in the 1972 Shanghai communique a common U.S.-China position was restricted to the Asia-Pacific region, the recent joint communique gave it a global scope even though China's



An official Chinese news photo of Chinese troops launching an attack on Cao Bang City, Vietnam.

powers do not reach beyond the Asia-Pacific region."

The concept of the U.S. as the centerpiece of this new "united front" evolved from the Nixon-Kissinger foreign policy which became known as the Nixon Doctrine. The core of that policy was a balance of forces between the U.S. to compete actively with the Soviets in other parts of the world. Thus, as central war was ruled out, the U.S. could deploy military force or create regional powers to keep the Soviets out of the Third World.

The Nixon Doctrine, unlike the older CENTO and SEATO alliance systems, envisioned a select number of states from the Middle to the Far East playing key roles in the containment of the Soviets. In the Middle East it was Iran; in South Asia Pakistan; and in the Far East, it was China, already closely linked to Iran and Pakistan before the 1971 U.S.-China breakthrough.

With a U.S.-supported containment arc starting from Turkey and sweeping through Iran to Pakistan, Russia would be prevented from expanding into Southwest Asia. And with China and Japan blocking the Soviets in the east, and Vietnam "neutral," Soviet expansionism would be blocked to the Southeast.

That would complete the encirclement of the Soviet Union. That would prevent the "new Czars" from realizing their dreams of expansion southward.

Clearly, the arc is now shattered. Vietnam, having declared China its "worst enemy," is no longer neutral. The revolution against the Shah removed Iran from the lists. Pakistan is unstable, Turkey is teetering on the brink of revolution, and Egypt, while willing to become the new Middle East kingpin in return for massive U.S. aid, is still enmeshed in intricate negotiations with Israel.

Where will U.S. go?

With containment policy sinking like a leaky boat, the U.S. has to swim for shore. But which shore, China's or Russia's?

The China-Vietnam war could act as a catalyst to that decision. If the war worsens, and threatens to drag in the Soviets, the U.S. will be forced to decide which is more important: cooperation with the Soviet Union to prevent nuclear war

through SALT, or support of China to prevent the Soviets from gaining an edge on the global U.S.-USSR competition.

The initial U.S. reactions to the Chinese invasion indicated a Washington tilt toward the former position. Administration spokesmen condemned both the Chinese invasion of Vietnam and the Vietnamese invasion of Cambodia. More significantly, in his Georgia Tech speech, President Carter, though reiterating U.S. policy to both cooperate and compete with the Soviet Union, laid primary stress on achieving a SALT agreement with the Soviets.

The President's speech seemed to reflect a victory for the State Department position, which favors a high priority on SALT and U.S.-Soviet relations, over the position of national security adviser Zbigniew Brzezinski, who advocates the "China card" and variations of the Nixon Doctrine.

The apparent Soviet tilt, if that is what it is, leaves the Chinese facing three dangerous alternatives:

•They can try to press the attack and risk war with the Soviet Union, which could force a showdown in the Carter administration.

•They can pull back and face the humiliation of a retreat at a time when world public opinion is shifting in favor of the Vietnamese.

•Or they can decide, in another of those quixotic switches they have so often carried out, that with the U.S. not overwhelmingly committed to China they had better seek accommodation with their bitter Soviet enemy.

Whichever course they follow, the "America card" will be the deciding factor. It is not only the linchpin of China's faltering containment policy, but the key to the nation's domestic economic program. The events ensuing from the Vietnam invasion will test whether that card is an ace or a deuce. ■

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Photos by Ken Firestone

FUN WITH DON & JANE



AN INTERVIEW WITH DON ROSE, JANE BYRNE'S CAMPAIGN MANAGER

By Florence Hamlish Levinsohn
and M.J. Sklar

On Feb. 27, Chicagoans scored a major upset in the Democratic mayoral primary (ITT, Mar. 7; see David Moberg's story page 3). With a margin of about 15,000 votes in a total of 800,000, former party regular Jane Byrne, who turned on the Machine after her idol, Richard J. Daley, died, took the nomination away from incumbent Michael Bilandic.

She tossed her hat in the ring 11 months ago but became a serious contender only last January when a combination of winter weather, scandal, and mismanagement by the Mayor, made her victory a possibility.

At that time, she hired long-time independent political strategist Don Rose. He had been campaign manager for Richard Hatcher when he first ran, and won, for mayor of Gary, Ind. And he had successfully managed more than a dozen major Chicago campaigns for aldermen and other candidates for local office.

It seemed an unholy alliance to those who have watched Rose's career over the past 20 years. Having written Martin Luther King's speeches, articles for The Nation and ITT, he had never allied himself with anyone connected with the Democratic Machine. It has, in fact, been his lifelong dream to smash the Machine.

At first, Byrne appeared to be engaged in a revenge match. Bilandic had fired her from her office as Consumer Affairs Commissioner after she exposed a behind-the-scenes deal that raised taxi rates. But Byrne took what some considered a populist line and in fact declared after her victory that she wants to have a "populist" government.

Rose has had a colorful career. He has

managed, since he kicked a heavy drug habit in the late 1940s, to build a formidable career in Chicago as a political pundit and strategist, writing about local politics for a variety of publications and writing about restaurants, jazz, and books, conducting a radio program, "Problems of the City," consulting with the Illinois Housing Development Authority, and writing the only white-authored political column in a black Chicago newspaper. He and his wife, Nancy, and their two teenage children, Max and Sara, also raise cats and dogs.

In the nature of Chicago politics, a victory in the Democratic primary is a sure win in the election. To find out what he expects from that election, what he believes the victory means for national politics, what implications this campaign may have for left politics, and what he plans for himself after having successfully won a victory that makes him one of the more prominent political strategists in the nation, we spent an afternoon with him at his home in Hyde Park on the Saturday after the election.

ITT: What did the stranglehold of the Democratic Machine mean in Chicago?

ROSE: The Chicago Machine was a very oppressive force. It made Chicago the most segregated city, probably, in the world. It kept black and minority communities in poverty. Also, it was politically repressive in a broader sense. The classic police state is one in which the military force is used for police purposes. That's what we have here in Chicago, exemplified by the police behavior at the 1968 Democratic Convention, a systematic violence, condoned, if not incited, by the political structure and, secondly, by

massive use of the police to spy on anything resembling political dissent.

Is it possible to assume that with Byrne in office things will change?

I would certainly hope so.

Did you ever talk to her about these problems?

Well, she's aware of them. We've been so involved in the mechanics of the campaign that we had very little time for any philosophical discussion. But both of these issues were clearly among the reasons she was concerned, and she has stated publicly that she will replace the chief of police. I think she strongly believes that you either have a political police force or you have a police force that concerns itself with the fundamentals of law enforcement.

When did you join her campaign?

Between the 6th and 14th of January.

What skills or knowledge did Byrne's people feel you had to bring to their campaign?

The primary thing they wanted to get done was the immediate advertising, radio and TV and also they asked me about campaign strategy. As it turned out, the campaign was in such bad condition—there was not much experienced help—that we had another friend of mine come in to serve as researcher and press secretary—and that was the only other experienced campaign worker they had. He went on full time and I wound up, after preparing all the media, functioning as the campaign manager and helping them get the precincts set up, and so on. It was slapdash.

And what made it attractive for you to work for Byrne?

Well, I liked a couple of things she was

saying. She was saying just enough about opening up the government and eliminating corruption to make it look like something one step away from the lesser of two evils—something that might be positive. She had a reputation around City Hall as being an exceedingly honest person. She had her enemies at City Hall. First, she didn't come up through the precinct structure, she came out of the Kennedy campaign and was therefore highly suspect.

Secondly, she was looked upon by some as being pathologically honest. And so, while it was not a campaign that attracted me early any more than it did most people, it became clear to me that it provided two things—one, a fair alternative and two, a potential to build up a very big vote for the aldermanic races that badly needed a turnout.

Which, in fact, worked?

Yeah. It turned out to be one of the biggest turnouts in the history of Chicago.

Can we go back to the Machine? Lots of people believe the patronage system somewhat offsets other kinds of Machine oppression, for example, in the black community.

It's a valid point. It's the one point that most traditional reformers, particularly the old WASP-reformer types, don't recognize. It's been their biggest issue. They want to eliminate the patronage system and put everything on the merit system. It's probably the largest single thing that has kept the liberal reform movement from relating to working class people and minorities, from really broadening their base. It's a mistake that we see in the finest intentions. Our independent aldermen, during the last budget hearings, focused over and over again on paying too much money to city workers. But patronage raises the fundamental question of economic survival of people everywhere in the city. And there's got to be ways of resolving this.

You cannot ask people to share your ideal when that ideal threatens their entire survival. The problem is that the patronage system has always been a political tool and is used to enslave people. It is used as part of the oppressive nature of the Machine, because it's used not only to maintain political control over large areas of the city, but also for economic captivity of the workers themselves. The guy who has to depend on it for survival is going to take that trade-off. But, you know, it's a tool of enslavement.

How would you deal with it?

The fundamental question is that people in the ghetto and poverty-stricken neighborhoods see this as the only way they can get a job and move ahead. Obviously, it's a larger question relating to genuine fair employment and affirmative action in government. But you know, it's ironic that as lousy as City Hall is, minority employment and affirmative action are miles ahead of private industry in Chicago.

The patronage system is a kind of perverse form of affirmative action for working class people?

For a long time, all immigrant groups have been beneficiaries of it and in Chicago, particularly, they've been both beneficiaries and victims of it. Very clearly the tragedy is in the fact that the victims will accept that trade-off because they are dealing with survival. That's really the difference between a political machine and a political organization—the degree of coercion involved.

Does a patronage system automatically mean coercion?

If you have a system where hiring and all other aspects of employment depend upon sponsorship and political obedience, you're never going to have a free society. There are alternatives to patronage—genuine affirmative action: qualifying people who are by the traditional standards "not qualified"; it means restructuring the way we hire. You want government to run effectively, but people do have a right to share in that. You're into a whole question of the larger society. The political machine is just a microcosm of that. You know, who's got the jobs, how many jobs are there, how do you qualify people for jobs, the whole business—you're talking about a new kind of personnel system, and government, I think, does have a responsibility to see that there is, in fact, a sharing of jobs. You can damn well go

out into communities and make sure that government will allot jobs equitably. And, literally, work to qualify people for those jobs without making them slaves.

Understand, please, that I'm not giving you what Byrne is going to do with her personnel code. I don't know how this is all going to be handled, but she's talked about things like union contracts for city employees, which will go a long way toward eliminating the most serious abuses of the patronage system, which is one of the things that attracted me to her campaign.

What you need is a cross between traditional concepts of merit employment and very, very rigorous affirmative action programs to make sure that jobs go to all parts of the community—the jobs go particularly where they are needed in the most deprived communities and that there are the kinds of programs to qualify people. There's no getting around the fact that with all the things we know about what's wrong with the school system and everything else in our society, you have to find ways to qualify the deprived to give them jobs.

In American history the advocates of patronage were associated with the democratic forces knocking down elitist barriers, and the patronage machines were the beneficiaries of that outlook. Has it been true in the case of the Daley Machine?

To some extent, I think the Daley Machine and its predecessor, the Kelly-Nash Machine, were different, though. New York's Tammany Hall, by comparison, was, in some senses, a benign welfare state. It was a political machine that turned out the vote, but its welfare mentality was, in fact, comparatively liberal. Tammany's patronage system was never as coercive or abusive as was the Daley Machine. The precinct captain in immigrant communities and during the Depression and in black and Latino communities, was the social worker. But the Daley Machine was never so benign.

What made the Daley Machine less benign?

The Daley Machine worked very assiduously to develop the black plantation and to segregate the city. The greatest problem facing the city is race relations. The greatest failure of the Daley administration was in race relations, and you can start stacking up a whole bunch of things, from public housing patterns to school segregation and every other method of urban planning. It was designed not just to perpetuate, but to establish and perpetuate, segregation in the city. And it was at a terrible cost, not only to blacks, but to all the other working people in the city. To maintain a dual education system, profound amounts of money were wasted that should have been going into the entire educational system. Because money was going to maintain ghettos in Chicago, money did not get into other neighborhoods that needed it and you had overall decline. Many communities in Chicago—many white ethnic communities—do not realize that part of their decline is due to the Machine's priorities.

Could you give an example?

There's the southwest side of Chicago, which also happened to be a major Daley stronghold. One of their greatest needs is transportation to the central city. A plan was developed for a southwest expressway connecting the downtown business section with the southwest areas. But the plan for that expressway was modified; money was spent instead to build an expressway to provide a barrier to black migration. The Dan Ryan expressway divided black from white almost completely. It was subsequently bridged in many sectors, particularly further south, but it served as a barrier, and they even developed a leg shooting sharply westward at 99th Street, again in what was hoped to be a barrier to black migration across 99th Street. And because of that particular plan, the southwest side of Chicago does not have adequate transportation to downtown.

What is Byrne's position on the ERA and women? She seems not to have made an issue of it in the campaign.

We avoided raising either "women's issues" or women candidates in this campaign, either aggressively or defensively.

There were a number of instances where very clearly we could have said, "God-damn it, you wouldn't ask that question if she were a man," but we avoided that. Basically, my feeling was that the base we were building was far, far, far beyond what could be considered a liberal-radical feminist constituency and that the issue itself would be non-productive, that the last thing in the world we wanted was an endorsement from Gloria Steinem.

Byrne is a woman, and everybody knows she's a woman, so she doesn't have to say, "Vote for me, I'm a woman." She got an immense vote because she is a woman—from men and women. My feeling is, if she had run as a woman's candidate, even with the support of organized women's groups, she would have lost people because the women's movement is still not really relating effectively to the lives of working women and working women is what elected Byrne. Without ever raising the issue, she represents more power for women. And she's for ERA. She was a lobbyist for ERA in the Daley administration.

Will more opportunities open for women in Chicago because of her being in office?

She is the biggest opportunity for women that's opened anywhere.

Do you think there's a better chance for ERA to pass the state legislature when she's Mayor of Chicago?

She was asked that question at a press conference, and she said that she didn't know; she would certainly try, but she didn't think that she would have much influence on the recalcitrants, that what she has to say doesn't relate to them; she's going to make an effort, but she doesn't think that she could be decisive.

Have you any feeling yet on whether you might play some role in a Byrne administration?

As of today, I think it's probable, but not absolutely certain. I could conceive of being an idea person, bringing policy formulations that might come from a variety of sources. But I also want to do other things in my life; I don't want to devote all my waking hours to government; I want to do my own work. Serious conflicts could arise if I wrote an article or took a position on some issue.

You can't operate like the Lone Ranger when you're in government. My personal conflict is whether I'm going to continue to be the Lone Ranger or get into

government, where I clearly would have to restrain my fundamental positions.

What would you say are the top two or three issues that have to be dealt with in this city?

The most important thing is the racial problem in Chicago. It touches our schools, our employment, our neighborhoods, and our human relations. I'm not going to give you a "practical program" because I don't have one. The fundamental thing is to reconceptualize the role of the black community into a participatory function. We have to abandon both the oppressive plantation aspects and we have to think beyond welfare liberalism. We have to figure out how blacks and Latinos can enter the process and become operational in a larger plan to make this a better city. This involves economic development and employment programs; it involves restructuring the educational system; it involves bringing people in.

Do you think that Byrne's victory represents deeper trends in Chicago politics?

No question. This is the third major political uprising since '72, so it's seven years, and there was kind of a minor one before. Daley did not carry the black community in 1975. Bilandic barely got 49 percent of the black community in the 1977 special election. [Byrne received 67 percent of the black vote.] Looking over the numbers of this election, what most people fail to take seriously enough is the fact that in 1977 Bilandic only got 51 percent of the total vote and the conventional wisdom was that the opposition was divided among three candidates and nobody could put together what those three candidates had. Ho, ho! And then Byrne did.

Do you see any parallel between Chicago and Cleveland in terms of an emerging black-ethnic coalition?

Well, I have not been clear on what Kucinich has there. The Byrne coalition is certainly a black and white coalition; I mean, it's really huge—we got 412,000 votes and it's a remarkable coalition. Whether it holds in its present form or not we'll have to wait and see. I have to say that it's more diffusely populist than what Kucinich is trying to say his is, but it was not articulated here in economic terms. It's just that everybody's been getting the shaft and while she didn't run against the establishment, it was very clear that she wasn't the establishment.

On the night of the election, Byrne was quoted in the SUN-TIMES as saying that she wants to run a "populist" government and that the aldermen should serve their communities, not "just big business."

That kind of rhetoric is nice. I'm not sure how it works in practice. Unless you restructure the whole country, you have to deal with big business. Obviously, the priorities should be rearranged. It's got the bankers scared stiff. They're afraid of what she might do.

What are the bankers afraid of?

Well, I don't know how they would articulate it. But every plan now on the books is obviously going to be re-evaluated. One of the things that concerns business is where are the contracts awarded. What banks will get to earn interest on what loans. Most of them are too wise to believe that a mayor can drive this city into the ground. Chicago has too much going for it to become a Cleveland or Newark.

Business and finance are a very important aspect and function of the city that is not understood, and not just by the general public but by the left. The financial interests have an awful lot of control over what happens in the city and, of course, they make a profit on it. They are worried now about whether they will get their profits. There's a hell of a lot of competition for who gets what.

Could you spell out the kind of control the financial interests have?

Well, it's a subtle form of control. If you accept the fact that the budget is the single most important policy function of the city, the finance people who negotiate rates and sell bonds in the open market are terribly important. When you negotiate rates and the whole underwriting and municipal finance process, you exercise a subtle control, and sometimes, not so subtle control. They have influence on your tax rates, property assessment and inflation, on your income and your expenditures. They examine your books, they want to know what you're doing. Okay, you want a million dollar loan, we need to look over your books and see if your business is capable of repaying the loan. They say, well, what is this, how come you don't have this here and that there? Basically, they don't come in and say, "Don't spend money over in that school district," but their message is clear.

Continued on page 14.

The Machine made Chicago the most segregated city, probably, in the world and kept all the minority communities in poverty. It used its police force to spy on anything resembling political dissent.





Is Mike Royko (right), CHICAGO SUN-TIMES star columnist, asking for Rose's autograph?

Big business exercises a subtle control over the city. They influence your tax rates, property assessment, inflation, your income and expenditures. They don't come in and say, "do it," or "don't do it," but the message to the government is clear.

Continued from page 13.

The TRIBUNE had a remarkable editorial recently, saying, what Cleveland doesn't understand is the absolute necessity for a very close relationship between city government and big business.

Well, that makes a lot of sense. Just look at the impact on jobs if business moves its plants out of the city.

They almost said directly that people may vote but business rules. Do you think that's the key thing?

Well, that is the key thing. You know, as I say, business recognizes its supremacy. And that's why I fundamentally think that the concerns that were expressed by business and finance in the city were less about the survival of the city than they were concerns about their piece of the action. I don't think that business and government are incompatible. I'm not advocating expropriating the banks, no matter what they may think. The kinds of reforms I think are necessary are not incompatible with business. It's just that some priorities have to be rearranged. I'm for economic development of underprivileged neighborhoods. How's that for an old-fashioned word?

For that, you'll have to put funds into areas that now go to business projects?

No. What I'm saying is that the net result of a redistribution of services will not damage business as an entity, but it will certainly shift the balance of who gets what. I mean, if you've got urban land development, somebody is going to benefit from it, some businessmen. It's not like you're taking it away from business and giving it to somebody else, but what you may be doing is taking it away from one business and letting others participate.

How do you see the role of the Church in Chicago politics?

You mean the Catholic hierarchy—The Church? I don't think the Church played a very strong role in this election. Certainly, at the top of the ladder, they are part of

the establishment, but they did not participate as heavily as they have in the past. There have been times when you practically have editorial endorsements read in the pulpits, and I think that they didn't do that this time—a very interesting occurrence because most of the working class base in Chicago is Catholic.

What do you think will be the impact of this election on national politics?

It's hard to tell. The influence of the Daley Machine was dramatically diminished by the 1976 convention. And it had been diminishing since '68.

Is Byrne likely to support a Kennedy challenge in Chicago?

Well, she's very close to Kennedy people. If there is a Kennedy move, I would presume, but I don't speak for or predict, I would just say that she's close to the Kennedy people and so it wouldn't be surprising. But I really can't say at this point.

Let's shift back to you. The chances are that if you remain the Lone Ranger, that you will get bids from candidates around the country?

If I find a candidate that I can live with in the same way that I found candidates here, I'll go, probably. I've gone to other places—I've gone to Los Angeles, I went to Gary. My first mayoral primary was there.

Do you think there are any lessons for the left in this campaign?

Yeah, win whenever possible. I tell you, one very important lesson the left has to learn is what electoral politics is and how it works. For instance, in the past seven years, I have learned a whole new media: television. I know how to make television and radio commercials; I know how to produce and shoot television and I know how to use it. It's here and it's probably the single most important influence in our lives. The left has to learn how to use this monstrous tool which one might wish were not there.

The left also has to learn how to relate its principles to the real world in such a way that it can articulate its principles in ways that relate to people's lives.

What explains labor's strong attachment to the Machine?

Well, in this town, the leadership is very much a part of the establishment and reaps many, many benefits. It's no secret, for example, that our building codes were written to benefit the old-line craft unions to the detriment of almost everybody else. There's no question that labor gets its piece of the action in Chicago. It's a power thing, you know. The Machine always took care of the major interest groups that could bring in the vote.

What do you think of the Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee and Mike Harrington?

Look, I've always had some questions about Harrington, and, consequently, I never got into DSOC, even though a lot of my close friends did. I feel better about DSOC now than I did when it started and I think it should be nurtured. Harrington is looking better to me than he used to. He's developed. Some of the things he was trying to do back in the middle or late '60s with Bayard Rustin—some of the silly efforts they made—the coalition bothered me. What distressed me at one point was that they did not come out against the Vietnam war. But at one point, Harrington seemed to be dabbling with it. I have found more consistency now. I think he's becoming a democratic Democrat. But I think we have to be prepared to break with the Democratic party nationally, so I don't know. But generally, I think DSOC is important and it should be nurtured. It's got some of the best people around in it.

Why should you scare Gibson so much? [In an article in the SUN-TIMES, Robert G. Gibson, Illinois AFL-CIO secretary-treasurer, was quoted as warning Byrne to get rid of Rose.]

My hunch is he had two bad experiences. One, he might associate me with Dan Walker (the former governor of Illinois who lost re-election after one term), with whom he had a really bad experience. They dumped him from some commission. But I think Walker is an asshole, even though I was slightly associated with his campaign. I suppose my association with Ed Sadlowski [who unsuccessfully challenged Lloyd McBride for president of the Steelworkers union]. Gibson is indebted to McBride; he took him out of the factories, you know, and put him into a staff job. I wasn't closely associated with Sadlowski's campaign, but Gibson is certainly right to put me in his camp.

Do you think that the Byrne campaign proves that you have to work inside the Machine to beat it?

Well, you have to do it as a Democrat. You can run as an Independent in the Democratic primary, but you sure can't do it as a Republican. I think it need not necessarily be somebody from the Machine, but it should not be somebody so radically different from what they identify as the Machine that it's going to scare people.

Did you have fun in the Byrne campaign?

Yeah, I had more fun in this campaign than any other. Without a really extraordinary investment of energy, I did some creative work that was extremely satisfying. And it all worked. For some reason or other, every shot I called worked superbly and everything they did backfired. Everything they did pounded another nail in their coffin, and we were able to exploit all of it. Sometime you can go through a campaign trying to find an issue and only find it ten days after the election, if at all. I have a hunch that, even without the snow, the way they were going, we might have gotten another issue. And Byrne is a highly charismatic candidate. When you've got a charismatic candidate, you never know.

LETTERS

SUBSTITUTE OR SUPPLEMENT?

I ENJOY THE PAPER VERY MUCH, AND I promote it energetically among my friends. So I hope you will take the following in the proper spirit. Recently you featured a story on the Rideout rape trial and a three-part piece on the Guyana suicide cult. Since both of these sensational stories received extensive coverage in the daily papers, much of *ITT*'s treatment offered little new information. If David Moberg had limited himself to aspects of the Guyana story not already reported, he would have had a much shorter and better article. He did uncover many new aspects of the story, and I appreciate his diligence, but I resent having to wade through so much familiar material.

This illustrates a more general point. A small weekly paper, with an even smaller budget, cannot and should not try to be a substitute for the daily papers. Instead, *ITT* can be an invaluable supplement to the dailies, reporting the stories that the bourgeois press ignores or distorts. For example, *ITT* has performed a valuable service in rebutting the media's grotesque portrayal of the Shah of Iran as a humanitarian reformer.

In the future, I hope that *ITT* can grow into a daily newspaper with enough resources to be a genuine alternative to the regular press. But to try to do that today will only slow down the growth of the paper.

—John Farley
Tucson, Ariz.

FRUSTRATION

SHAKESPEARE'S KINGS' FOOLS HAVE the virtue of wit. Not as a Petronius to a lounge lizard Nero, but as a dancing clown to push back the worries of power. President Carter's fool, Billy-Boyo, who dropped his two-holed sheet, and crawled out of an Al Capp comic strip, exhibits only crudity.

It exasperates me that "twice-born" Carter has failed (recall his "I'll never lie to you," pre-election jelly-bean jive?) to control inflation. Thus, the rich and the super rich love him. And the poor suffer. The other item is that he has stymied a national health plan, sponsored by Sen. Ted Kennedy.

But what gets me even "hotter" is that Carter has invited that ex-King Nixonius to the White House to greet the Chinese delegate. What, kind sir, will be the agenda? How to sell more Coca-Cola? Or preparation X, or Charmin, from our anal culture? Even more loutish is Carter's firing of Bella Abzug from her committee of 40 hired with no pay to advise this same Carter! This is the Carter who shall go down in history, the leader of our country, who celebrated the birthday of Mickey Mouse!

—David Stalzer
Rhinebeck, N.Y.

HERE NOW

ITT AND REP. DELLUMS WOULD BE better off to stop talking about socialism—a dirty word in an indoctrinated capitalist society—and begin plugging consumers and producers co-ops, employee-owned factories, community-owned, non-profit utilities.

They're here now, they're legitimate, they're acceptable, they're enjoying phenomenal growth. This is true people's socialism—not trading one hierarchical, elitist, heavy-handed bureaucracy for another in state socialism.

—Lytle Robinson
Tucson, Ariz.

TOBACCO MNCs

THE GRAVITY OF MILTON MOSKOWITZ's criticisms (*ITT*, Feb. 14) of my piece on tobacco multinationals (*ITT*, Jan. 24) merits a response. My in-

formation is documented in the study by the UN's UNCTAD, *Marketing and Distribution of Tobacco* (Geneva).

1. Criticism: "American Brands does not make Benson & Hedges, Philip Morris does." Response: AB does indeed make Benson & Hedges. Philip Morris may well make them too, but I would guess that it does so under license from AB and solely for the U.S. market.

2. Criticism: "Gulf & Western (G&W) only makes cigars; its 1978 turnover was less than, say, L&M or Lorillard." Response: My ranking of the firms is based on sales from tobacco, not cigarettes alone. In any case, most tobacco MNCs make cigars and pipe tobacco as well as cigarettes and their turnover reflects this. L&M is a subsidiary of Rupert/Rembrandt of South Africa (R/R) and, therefore, its sales properly should be incorporated into those of R/R. Lorillard's total sales figure for 1978 would be less than Moskowitz suggests, since the firm's overseas operations have been acquired by British-American Tobacco (BAT). Further, Lorillard is not, strictly speaking, Lorillard but a subsidiary of the Loews entertainment conglomerate. Loews' U.S. operations, exports and licensing abroad in the tobacco field remain significant enough to qualify it as a minor tobacco MNC, but its turnover is less than that of G&W.

3. Criticism: "BAT does not make Kent, Lorillard does." Response: As noted above, BAT has taken over Loews/Lorillard's foreign business, including its Kent operations. Clearly, then, BAT does make Kent. I had listed Kent as a BAT product largely because I thought that U.S. readers would be more likely to recognize that brand name than those of other BAT cigarettes, e.g., Gold Leaf.

4. Criticism: "R/R has not acquired L&M." Response: R/R has gained "effective control" of L&M and, in fact, has integrated it into its Rupert/Rothmans Group. We could quibble over the semantics of "acquired" vs. "gained effective control," but the main point here is that L&M is not the independent entity that Moskowitz claims it to be.

5. Criticism: "R.J. Reynolds never acquired Reynolds Aluminum." Response: I concede that my rendering of the name of Reynolds' (RJR) aluminum foil subsidiary was "sloppy" and my discussion of the subsidiary's history imprecise. The full name of the subsidiary is R.J. Reynolds Archer, not Reynolds Aluminum. It was set up, not acquired, by RJR in the 1920s, but not wholly-owned by RJR until the 1960s, when the company acquired 100 percent ownership.

6. Criticism: "American Brands was the 32nd ranking U.S. advertiser in 1976, not the 2nd largest." Response: I suspect Moskowitz is right. The UN document says No. 2, but I suspect that it's a misprint. I regret not having checked this out with the author.

Moskowitz and I are talking about two different subjects. I was trying to assess the operations of the tobacco MNCs in a global context, as I think is only proper, while Moskowitz seems to be talking largely about the U.S. market. That market, while important, is only part of the story.

—Bruce Vandervort
Geneva, Switzerland

NOT EVEN-HANDED

THE U.S. IS CLEARLY NOT EVEN-HANDED in its attitudes toward Vietnam and China. Washington does not recognize the government of Vietnam, but it recognizes the Peoples Republic of China.

Washington does not permit Vietnam to buy anything here, not even medical supplies or food it drastically needs because of last September's floods that left three million homeless and wiped out much of the rice crop. But Washington is permitting the sale to China of steel mills, coal mine installations, petroleum

exploration equipment, petrochemical plants and know-how and equipment for a nuclear power plant. Furthermore, the U.S. has agreed to receive thousands of Chinese students for graduate education.

It goes without saying that dispatching Mr. Blumenthal to China to promote trade after China launched its invasion of Vietnam is an expression of approval.

If the U.S. were sincere in the position of even-handed condemnation of Vietnamese actions in Kampuchea and of China's in Vietnam, then Carter should tell China he will deny all export licenses for equipment until China withdraws to its pre-war frontiers, and Vietnam that if it withdraws from Kampuchea he will at once extend to Vietnam the same policy applied to China: immediate diplomatic normalization, agreement to permit purchase here of what Vietnam needs, and initiation of cultural exchange.

The Soviet Union's policy is clearly forecast by its statement that "China's attack against Vietnam is added proof of Peking's grossly irresponsible attitude to the destinies of peace.... The Chinese people like other peoples need peace and not war." Moscow is saying that it will *not* take an irresponsible attitude to peace, and that its people, too, need peace and not war.

—William M. Mandel
Berkeley, Cal.

COMEY'S LEGACY

IT WAS REALLY A SHOCK TO READ about David Comey's death in your newspaper (and an irony David would have enjoyed to have seen an obituary article subsequently in a public information publication of the American Nuclear Society).

Although he was certainly no socialist, David fought many progressive battles against nuclear energy and for environmental protection. He came into these struggles purely by chance. In the late 1960s, David was studying for a doctorate in Russian Studies at Cornell University. The professor who was his graduate adviser had a house near Lake Cayuga where the local utility announced plans to site a nuclear reactor. The professor was unable to attend a citizens' meeting called in opposition to the plan, and happened to ask Comey who was in his office that day if David would go to the meeting and let him know what went on. Comey agreed, and he got so caught up in the issues that he eventually dropped Soviet Studies and put all of his energy into environmental matters.

On one of his trips back to Ithaca from Chicago, where he had located, I asked him to talk to my class on Environmental Law and Policy. Comey was a great optimist. As he told the students, he based his confidence in the citizens' environmental movement on three grounds: "We are smarter than they are; in the skirmishing, we are more flexible than they are; and we are *right*!" It is a good legacy to keep in mind as we continue the struggles without him.

Phillip L. Bereano
Seattle, Wash.

MOTHER POD

GOOD CRITICS OFTEN DISPLAY MORE creativity and wit than the objects under their review. Pat Aufderheide wildly over-credited the remake of *The Invasion of the Body-Snatchers*, using the movie as an occasion to examine her own political insights on paranoia and cultist pop psychology. That's not skin off my nose; Aufderheide is much more interesting than most of the movies she reviews, but I was deeply disturbed that she never mentioned the real horror of *Body-Snatchers*—a rank and pervasive sexual disgust.

The movie fascinates us with lurid close-ups whose fleshy, pulsating centers expel fetal pods. These podlings suck, cry and wave their half-formed fists pathetically.

The pod take-over is inevitable and, in this remake, there's something sexy about those creepy pods. I suppose

there's no intrinsic harm in turning on to pods, but there is cause for grumbling when female sexuality and birth-giving are the primary images of horror and conquest.

Good horror films, like *Psycho* or *Dracula*, can scare the shit out of people without sending them home convinced that They are going to get us and that it's mother's fault.

—Fluffy Goled
Minneapolis, Minn.

MORE THAN A PEEP

LETTER WRITER SID RESNICK (*ITT*, Jan. 31) broadcast a falsehood when he said that progressives "didn't utter a peep" about Iraq's execution of Communists.

Had Resnick been more scrupulous about truth he would have checked out the facts. As far back as 1969 the *Daily World* carried articles by its foreign editor, Tom Foley, attacking the Iraq government for its terror against the left. As recently as Jan. 5, Foley wrote, under a five-column headline, "Terror Against CP Mounts in Iraq:

"The allegedly 'progressive' regime in Iraq is getting away with murder. It was reported Wednesday that Iraq executed 18 military men for 'pro-communist' activities and at the same time arrested seven members of the Central Committee of the Iraqi Communist Party (ICP).

"...The Iraqi Ba'ath Party-dominated government of President Ahmed Hassan al-Bakr in Iraq has been steadily increasing its persecution of the Iraqi Communists to the point where this has become a genuine reign of terror."

Foley concluded his article with a call for protests to the Iraqi United Nations Mission in New York.

Considerably more than a "peep," an objective person not blinded by anti-Communist and anti-Soviet prejudices might say!

—Si Gerson
Brooklyn, N.Y.

ONE MORE REASON

CONGRATULATIONS ON THE ADDITION to the foreign affairs staff of Wilfred Burchett! Wilfred's broad experience in reporting from the front lines is a significant step forward for *IN THESE TIMES*' international coverage.

It will be good to read about the true situation of China's reactionary invasion of Vietnam with Wilfred Burchett on the scene.

Burchett's reporting is one more reason to support *IN THESE TIMES* as the most accurate and complete newsweekly on the left.

—Craig T. Canan
Nashville, Tenn.

ARMS EXHIBIT

CONGRATULATIONS TO JOHN S. APPel for his coverage (*ITT*, Mar. 7) of the arms exhibit at Defense Technology '79 in Rosemont, Ill.

But I am disappointed with his statement that the near-fiasco of the show was a "major self-inflicted public relations defeat." Many of us started working six months ago and kept up a steady growing pressure on many fronts through peace organizations, Mobilization for Survival, and—of special interest to movement people—many church groups. As a result, some 3000 people came from every state in the Midwest and beyond for the Feb. 18 demonstration.

This outpouring in midwinter shows a deeply felt need for an anti-war, anti-militarist emphasis. It could have been an even bigger event had more movement papers, including *ITT*, seen fit to give it coverage beforehand! After all, what is a movement press for?

—Ruth Dear
War Resisters League
Oak Park, Ill.

Editor's Note: Please keep letters under 250 words. Otherwise we may have to make drastic cuts, which may change what you want to say. Also, please type and double space letters, or at least write clearly and leave wide margins.

MICHAEL P. LERNER

California summer: putting left initiatives on the state ballot

THE CURRENT ISOLATION OF PROGRESSIVE FORCES IN America stems more from a lack of imagination than from a genuine commitment by the American people to conservative politics. Much of what goes for politics in this country is shaped by projected images of "what is happening," so once the media announces a shift to the right, even those who want social change begin to act as if nothing can be done in the present period. ¶The absence of a national presence for progressives is self-fulfilling: Once people believe that nothing can be

done, they retreat into personal life, hoping that some magical solution will make the right go away. Progressive politicians seeing no constituency to their left, conclude that they must make accommodations with the right, and this then is seen as further proof that there is a rightward trend that no one can stand up to.

The potential damage of such a period is considerable. The important advances made by the trade union movement come under sharp attack. The blame for inflation is placed on working people and the poor. Occupational safety, pollution control, minimal regulation of corporate avarice are all under attack as inflationary. Proposals for eliminating inequalities facing minorities and women are abandoned as "unrealistic" given "the mood of the country." The cold war is re-legitimated, and defense spending spirals out of control, with all the potentials for unintended nuclear warfare increased.

While elected officials try to out-do each other about who is the best budget

cutter, leaving corporate giveaways like the Defense budget virtually untouched, the rest of us sit back licking our wounds and despairing about the "inevitable shift rightwards," secretly nourishing fantasies that the '80s will save us.

It doesn't have to be that way. We can take the offensive and shift the debate to show that a substantial part of the population favors programs we favor. We can frame our ideas in ways that will capture the imagination of the country, if we let ourselves be bold, daring, and non-defeatist.

After all, progressives could have sponsored a version of Proposition 13, one that would have benefitted middle-income home owners and not the large corporations, and that would have preserved the funding base for social programs. And we can be the initiators of popular as well as progressive programs for the 1980s.

As a strategy, we might place initiatives on the ballot in several states. Com-

ing in a Presidential election year, those initiatives will have to be faced by the major candidates. California is the logical place to begin: on the heels of Jarvis-Gann, progressive initiatives would receive national attention, and a substantial vote for them would seriously undermine the thesis that the whole country is moving to the right.

Hence, I propose a "California Summer": Let all those who can, come to California this summer to register to vote and work on the initiative campaign and help in creating a new national climate in favor of progressive social change.

I propose putting four initiatives on the California ballot:

1. *The Dellums National Health Service Bill*, placed on the ballot in the form of allocating money from California to create a national lobbying campaign for passage of the bill in the Congress. The Dellums bill calls for democratic control of the health delivery system, not just for payment of bills. It is anti-inflationary, unlike the Carter and Kennedy bills that allow for huge giveaways to the insurance companies. It establishes an extensive preventive focus for health care, requires medical students to give two years of national service to under-served communities, and makes medical school free and open to a broader ethnic and economic cross-section of the population. Recent opinion polls indicate that the principle of the Dellums bill would receive widespread support and could actually pass in California.

2. *The Social Ecology Initiative*, to set up a state Social Ecology Board, members of which will be elected in regional elections. Every corporation that employs more than 500 people in California would be required to submit a social environmental impact report whenever it proposes to lay off more than 100 employees in a given year, showing why its layoffs are legitimate and what damage will be done to the workers being laid off and the communities affected. The Board would be empowered to levy fines up to and including a confiscatory level. This initiative counters the traditional argument used against every piece of progressive legislation, that if we pass progressive leg-

islation, the corporations will move out of the state. This initiative leaves intact their right to leave, but insists that they pay for the social damage that they are doing by leaving.

3. *The Workers' Rights Initiative*. This would set up a number of rights, and mandate the legislature to develop enacting legislation. Among those rights are: a) no forced overtime; b) paid maternity-paternity leaves for parents of either sex; c) child care benefits to be paid for by any employer employing over 100 workers; d) benefits for occupational stress, extending workers' compensation to include compensation for emotional and psychological stress generated by the workplace; e) other planks to be developed by the trade union movement in the next few months.

4. *Corporate Property Tax*. This would extend Jarvis-Gann benefits even further for homeowners (for example, a blanket 10 percent reduction in property taxes for owner-occupied dwellings with fewer than 5 units), guarantee that all savings to landlords be passed on directly to renters, and re-establish the previous level of property taxes on all corporate property. This will restore necessary revenues to fund-state programs. It would create an alliance between the poor and middle income working people against the corporations, rather than the Jarvis-Gann alliance of the rich and middle income against the poor.

Putting four initiatives on the ballot is actually easier than one. A single canvasser can carry four initiatives. And by uniting these causes, we can bring together a wide variety of constituencies that singly are most involved in one of them, but whose energies could now extend to the whole package.

The initiative campaign is realistically possible. Whether or not it happens depends on the willingness to do more than just nod one's head in assent, the willingness to create organizational efforts to make it real.

Michael P. Lerner is director of the Institute for Labor and Mental Health (Oakland, Cal.), which works with trade unions to provide counseling to workers and their families.

HARRY BRILL

Commemorating the '30s: Carter's recession is just around the corner

THE CARTER ADMINISTRATION, IT SEEMS, IS COMMEMORATING the birth of the Great Depression by pursuing economic policies that may be risking another one. Except, unlike President Hoover, Carter does not think that "prosperity around the corner" is a good thing. ¶We are being repeatedly warned that to subdue what the administration considers the nation's number one domestic problem, inflation, slower economic growth, and accordingly, more unemployment is mandatory. The idea is to reduce demand. ¶Through tight monetary poli-

cies, particularly higher interest rates, the administration expects to discourage business and consumer loans. Through fiscal policy, particularly cutting the federal deficit and restraining spending, the administration seeks to restrain growth of jobs and production. The administration does not envision a fly-by-night effort. Federal Reserve Board chairman G. William Miller claims that at least six years of "moderation" are necessary. And all this for our own good.

Aside from the usual complaints about the inequities of Carter's policies, there is something else about the program that should arouse our suspicions. It is really asking too much to believe that big business, which has packaged the Carter pro-

gram, is serious about championing an economic strategy to choke off demand so as to compel it to restrain prices.

Recall the crash of 1973-75, when even discounting the quadrupling of oil prices, inflation was still high. Tight money policies were implemented, which succeeded in reducing production and increasing unemployment while industry responded with inflationary price increases to offset the decline in sales. To protect its profit margin, the automobile industry raised average car prices an unprecedented \$1,000 in a 15-month period. The rhetoric then was the same: economic restraint to suppress inflation.

Big business at times prefers economic slowdowns or mild recessions to moder-

ate wage demands. But a surplus work force is already available to give labor second thoughts about pressing too hard. Since the onset of the last recession, unemployment has remained high enough to stiffen employer resistance at the bargaining table.

In 1978, the number of strikes and workers involved dropped below the level of the severe 1973-75 recession, and in fact, both are at their lowest point since 1965. Even union membership has declined for the first time in ten years.

For the business executives who would still prefer more favorable labor market conditions, clear warning signals of an impending economic downturn have been flashing long before the Carter administration announced it would attempt to slow the economy. Why, then, the hurry?

Carter's economic advisers have been presenting the very different view of an overheated economy showing no signs of winding down. When the Federal Reserve, for example, took steps last Nov. 1 to push interest rates higher, a 1 percent increase in the discount rate (the rate the Federal Reserve charges for making loans to member banks), the reaction of mainstream economists validated the official diagnosis. As if the Carter administration had single-handedly reversed the nation's economic course, the majority of economic forecasters began predicting a recession.

Otto Eckstein, the Harvard economist and head of a major economic consulting firm, Data Resources, told a television audience that he was predicting a recession "for the first time in my life." Which is an admission of past mistakes that also speaks for the abysmal overall record of economic forecasters.

Economic analysts have generally failed to predict downturns no matter how overwhelming the evidence. This time around is an exception, but they waited long after other warning signals had appeared. Why were they wrong before, and why did they

procrastinate now? The answer to these questions has nothing to do with economics.

Prior to Nov. 1, there was another set of events that these economic soothsayers did pay attention to. Public officials were beginning to scream about the inflation problem and the priority it deserves. Treasury Secretary W. Michael Blumenthal and other Washington officials were bluntly stating and issuing press releases that all other interests had to be subordinated to fighting inflation. Although the administration generally prefers the euphemism, "slower growth," it took the hard line that risking recession was no longer unthinkable.

It is among the unwritten but cherished rules of the game to shy away from making gloomy forecasts; it is just not good for business. However, when the administration itself not only predicted a downturn, but even indicated that it may be forced to bring one about, forecasting a recession became a legitimate activity.

The same economists who interpreted the 1 percent increase in the discount rate as the critical economic turning point, had not reacted unfavorably to the discount rate jumping by more than twice that amount from the end of the prior year until November.

Far more crucial, because of the substantially greater bank borrowing involved, is the Federal Reserve's manipulation of the interest rate on Federal funds, the reserves banks borrow from each other. In the three month period prior to November, the Federal Reserve pushed up the Federal Fund rate by over 1 percent. No reaction from the soothsayers. There had been other major changes in bank rates, none of which invited any dire predictions.

This is the first in a series on Carter's economic policies. Harry Brill is professor of sociology at the University of Massachusetts, Boston.

IN DEPTH

The "invisible hand" behind deregulation

By Gregory C. Staple

THE PUBLIC DEBATE ABOUT DEREGULATION GAINED AN influential new participant when the American Bar Association's select Commission on Law and the Economy released its 187-page draft report last year entitled, "Federal Regulation: Roads to Reform." The work of the Commission, otherwise known for its chairman, Wall Street lawyer John J. McCloy, is an ambitious effort to win support for several *laissez faire* principles to guide state intervention in the economy and for strong new Presidential authority to control major regulatory decisions.

Although the McCloy Commission's final report to the ABA is not due until August, the Commission's work has already affected the regulatory provisions of Carter's anti-inflation programs. The creation of a new interagency regulatory council last October represented a compromise between Carter's top economic advisers, who like the McCloy Commission, wanted a veto over expensive regulations, and the heads of executive agencies concerned with safety and the environment. Presently, the White House is considering whether to support new legislation to give the President the type of express statutory authority over regulatory decisions that the McCloy Commission recommends.

Background of the Commission.

The Commission on Law and the Economy was established in 1975 by then ABA president Lawrence E. Walsh to propose regulatory reforms. Walsh felt that since many lawyers and economists believed government regulation had contributed to the recent economic recession, the organized bar had a responsibility "to improve the regulatory institutions which it had created." McCloy was invited to chair the Commission.

McCloy's agreement to lead the Commission is a significant indication of the importance that certain business interests attach to deregulation as a way of improving America's international economic position, quite apart from its priority as domestic policy.

Besides his post World War II role on behalf of European reconstruction, McCloy is best known for the pivotal position that he occupies at the center of several different Rockefeller family worlds—the oil companies, Chase Manhattan Bank, and the personal interests of the Rockefeller brothers—all of which have been represented by his law firm. "At 81," wrote *Fortune* magazine in 1977 "[McCloy] is a living symbol of the necessary and fruitful link between U.S. foreign policy and a vigorous world commerce."

The other 25 members of the original Commission appear to have been carefully chosen to provide public legitimacy for the Commission's work while preserving the power of the corporate lawyers on the panel. Among those appointed by Walsh were several senior partners from large national law firms including three Washington attorneys who served on the Trilateral Commission: Lloyd N. Cutler, William T. Coleman and Sol M. Linowitz. Linowitz resigned after he was appointed as a co-negotiator for the Panama Canal treaty.

Also appointed were the Washington counsel for the NAACP, Clarence Mitchell, the executive director of Consumer's Union Rhoda H. Karpotkin, and the general counsel for the UAW, Stephen Schlossberg. The Commission was rounded out with four economists, including

Albert T. Summers, chief economist of the (business) Conference Board, and Paul McAvoy from Yale. Charles Kirbo, the President's personal adviser, also served on the Commission from shortly after Carter's election until last fall.

Seed money for the Commission's work came from the ABA. Subsequent support was obtained from the Ford Foundation (\$200,000), with lesser contributions from corporate sources like Bechtel, Mobil Oil, the Gulf Oil Foundation and the G.E. Foundation.

Major recommendations.

The reports recommendations released last August after three years of work, can be summarized under four main points:

(1) Structurally competitive industries should be deregulated and antitrust enforcement used to maintain the competitiveness of particular markets. (2) The statutory power of the President to control "critical" regulatory decisions should be increased. (3) Tax incentives, subsidies, disclosure, and group bargaining should be used as complements or alternatives to classical regulatory standards in the environmental and safety areas. (4) A limited form of "sunset" legislation should be adopted in order automatically to terminate regulatory agencies or functions unless they are specifically re-authorized by new legislation.

Adoption of the Commission's proposal would significantly alter the character of government intervention in the economy. Greater reliance on the "invisible hand" of the market and the restrained hand of the Justice Department would be a large step toward reducing public control over the economic plans of major corporations. While it supports enforcement of anti-trust law in encouraging more competition, the Commission offers no evidence to demonstrate that anti-trust policy is an effective tool for policing large domestic and transnational corporations.

Indeed, one of McCloy's most remarkable legal coups occurred when he convinced the Justice Department that the oil producers' 1971 industry-wide negotiating front and their oil-sharing agreement, formulated in response to OPEC's imposition of higher royalties, did not violate the anti-trust laws. Although the terms of the oil companies' joint agreement were later challenged in court as an illegal means of splitting up the wholesale market for crude oil, the document McCloy helped to draft withstood the test.

Policing the Executive Branch.

The McCloy Commission's support for increasing the President's authority over regulatory agencies rests on the belief that only a strong executive can cope with demands for environmental and safety regulations. Commissioner Cutler, who gained his reputation as a Washington superlawyer by his tenacious representa-

tion of General Motors and the drug companies trade association, first published this proposal four years ago in the *Yale Law Journal*. Despite criticism, a modified version of the plan has steadily gained ground.

As adopted by the Commission, the proposal would grant the President the express power to direct executive and regulatory agencies to reconsider "critical" regulatory issues within a specified period of time. Thereafter, the President would be given the power to modify or reverse the agency's actions.

"Critical" decisions are defined in the Commission's report as those which the President finds to be of major significance both to the national interest and to the achievement of statutory goals other than the goal primarily entrusted to the regulatory agency in question. But decisions directly subject to judicial process, such as those of the PTC or FCC, would be exempt from Presidential reconsideration. Time for public comment and non-binding congressional review would be allowed before the President's orders could become effective.

The Commission's proposal for Executive "accountability" has been criticized from the standpoint of administrative as well as constitutional law. In a dissenting opinion to the Commission's report, Rhoda Karpotkin wrote, "Under the guise of regulatory reform," Cutler's proposal would facilitate "pressure on the President or his staff by special interests that lose on the merits at the agency level... [and] introduce an *ex parte* and invisible final decision-making process by the White House."

As a matter of constitutional law it is open to question whether a statute granting the President *post hoc* power to control congressionally delegated agency action would be upheld. (See *ITT* editorial, Jan. 29.) This issue has generated a growing public debate between Cutler and Alan B. Morrison, a former litigation director for Ralph Nader, that started last year in the editorial pages of the *Washington Post*. The second round of the debate took place during the ABA's February meeting in Atlanta.

Dissent in the Commission.

The Commission's effort to achieve a consensus for its recommendations has not been altogether successful. In addition

to the strong public opposition of Karpotkin to Cutler's proposal, Elliott Bredhoff, general counsel for the United Steel Workers' Union, wrote a separate dissent to the Commission's draft report.

Appointed to the Commission after Schlossberg of the UAW resigned for "philosophical reasons," Bredhoff objected to the Commission's support for tax penalties as a substitute for environmental standards, and the "sunset" proposal for phasing out agencies in the absence of specific reauthorization. The Commission's support for the latter proposal had previously prompted the resignation of the NAACP's Clarence Mitchell, who felt that even with an exemption for civil rights agencies the proposal would directly threaten the progress of blacks.

"In the light of the minority filibuster on labor law reform," Bredhoff noted, "uncertainty, destabilization and turmoil would result if it were necessary to reauthorize many of the economic and social regulatory statutes which were so bitterly fought to enactment in prior years."

The larger issues.

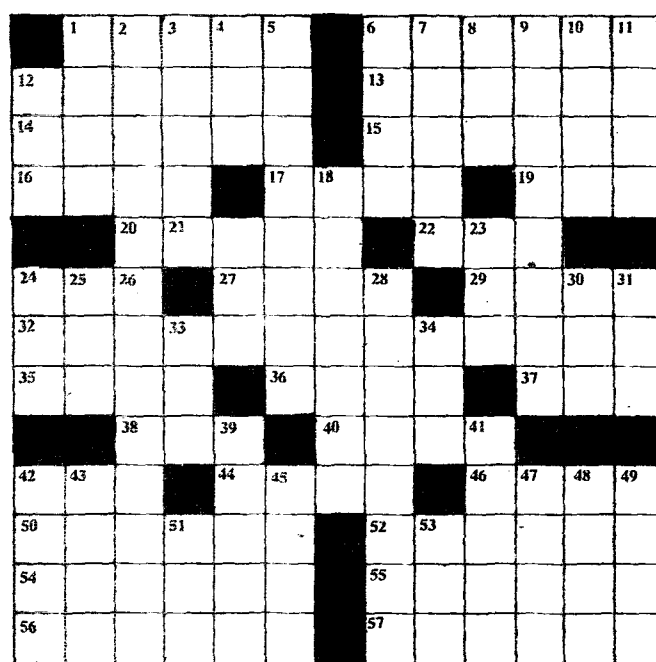
The dissent generated by the majority of the Commissioners' support for "sunset" legislation brings into focus the larger political and economic developments that lie behind the Commission's draft recommendations. In a period of high inflation and growing international competition, a decentralized, constituency-oriented regulatory system is viewed by segments of the business community as a costly and ineffective vehicle for taking the type of decisive governmental action that is often required.

Witness Cutler's concern in his original law review article: "We need today a mode of economic regulation that is broad enough to consider the impact of regulatory decisions on the society as a whole and flexible enough to adapt to crises we can rarely foresee much before they are upon us... To paraphrase Clemenceau, economic regulation has become too important to leave to the regulators." Hence, deregulation on the one hand and a more centralized executive branch on the other, are viewed by corporate interests as complementary ways of bringing about the desired changes in the government's role. ■

Gregory C. Staple, a member of the New York bar, lives in Washington, D.C.

Oxford Poet

By Jay Shepherd



ACROSS

- 1 Wanderer
- 6 Irritate
- 12 Enlarge
- 13 Water container
- 14 World War II group
- 15 Multiplication groups
- 16 Breakfast, for one
- 17 Egyptian fertility goddess
- 19 Employ
- 20 Belt
- 22 French possessive (familiar form)
- 24 Curve
- 27 Traffic sign
- 29 Puerto
- 32 19th century English poet and critic
- 35 Director Kazan
- 36 Luncheonette, for short
- 37 Next, in Lyons
- 38 Letter abbr.
- 40 Harvest
- 42 Mont Blanc, for one
- 44 Historical time
- 46 Winglike
- 50 Enveloped
- 52 Job security
- 54 Ancient
- 55 Builds
- 56 Awards
- 57 Bargain hunter's attractions

DOWN

- 1 Shade of green
- 2 Earthenware jar
- 3 Posts

- 8 Loot
- 9 Hint
- 10 Actresses Ruby and Sandra
- 11 Gaelic
- 12 Beaver's structure
- 18 April events
- 21 Designated Wednesday
- 23 Seabird
- 24 Dutch uncle
- 25 Gal of song
- 26 Flecked
- 28 Artistic needs
- 30 151, to Caesar
- 33 Type of dance
- 34 Creek
- 39 Time period
- 41 Jury
- 42 "My Name is _____" (Saroyan)
- 43 Theater box
- 45 Sums up
- 47 Clare Booth
- 48 Companion to crafts
- 49 Legal matter
- 51 Mauna _____ in Hawaii
- 53 Age



Solution to last week's puzzle

A statement on China's Viet invasion

The invasion of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam by the Peoples Republic of China is both a profound tragedy and a grave danger to world peace. The Vietnamese people, who have experienced war for nearly four decades, are once again subject to the death and destruction of invasion. When nations armed with nuclear weapons begin a limited conflict, there is an immediate danger that the same folly that leads nations to attempt "limited war" can easily bring down on all nations a nuclear holocaust.

First, we are fundamentally sympathetic with the efforts of all peoples to find their own road to socialism, and with the efforts of the socialist nations to develop a system of full social justice and political freedom. We are friends of the Soviet, Chinese, Vietnamese, and Kampuchean peoples and have demonstrated that friendship in concrete ways—including our involvement in mass movements to end the U.S. invasion of Indochina, and our historic support for the recognition of the Peoples Republic of China, and its admission to the United Nations.

Second, at the time of the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia, the Peoples Republic of China admonished the Soviet Union, correctly in our view, and pointed out that disputes between socialist states must not be resolved by armed conflict. We agreed with that position then and we firmly, urgently, call it to the attention of the present Chinese gov-

ernment. It must immediately and unconditionally end its military intervention in Vietnam and withdraw its forces behind its borders of Feb. 17. We cannot express strongly enough our feeling that the Chinese political leadership has acted in a shameful way.

Third, the Peoples Republic of China has charged that Vietnamese military forces crossed the Cambodian border and overturned the Pol Pot government. This charge seems to have substantial weight to it. We are not able, because of lack of hard evidence, to confirm the charges by the Vietnamese government that the Pol Pot regime had massively violated human rights. Assuming the Vietnamese charges to be correct, they do not justify armed aggression by Vietnam. Vietnamese military intervention is the basis for international pressure on the Vietnamese to withdraw—but emphatically not the excuse for a military invasion of Vietnam by China.

Fourth, we sharply condemn the theory that any nation has the right "to teach lessons in blood" as the Chinese government has stated. What this means in reality, stripped of the niceties of rhetoric, is that Chinese officials, including Vice-Premier Deng, sit in the safety of Peking while their conscript troops engage in the bloody process of killing and being killed. Death rages along the border between China and Vietnam. The Chinese invasion is the kind of arrogant effort to

impose political positions through brutal military intervention that historically has characterized U.S. policy.

Fifth, we commend the Soviet Union's policy of military restraint, we urgently hope that restraint continues, and we support its efforts to bring the present conflict to an end rather than enlarge it through some form of Soviet military action. The Soviet Union is demonstrating an awareness that slight miscalculations by political leaders can bring human history to an end. With every day that passes, the restraint of the Soviet government wins increasing support from world public opinion. As the United States learned during its long intervention in Indochina, world opinion is not passive. The present Chinese government must ask itself whether, in the long run, it gains much by winning the support of conservative world opinion at the cost of isolation from non-aligned and progressive forces.

Sixth, the government of the United States is far from innocent. Not only in an historic sense did its prolonged intervention in Indochina provide the basis for the current turmoil, but it is now clear from the speed with which the Chinese invasion followed Deng's visit to the U.S., and the speed with which U.S.-Chinese normalization continues, that some agreements were reached privately with the U.S. government.

The world is at a point of crisis deep-

er than any we have seen in a decade. U.S. imperialism may well use the occasion of increasing Sino-Soviet tension to take risks elsewhere in the world, particularly in the Middle East. Each day of fighting increases the danger of nuclear war. We call on the peoples of the world to make themselves heard, forcefully, urgently, and immediately, to demand an end of the Chinese invasion of Vietnam, and the withdrawal of all troops to their own borders. When governments quarrel, children are killed. When socialist states come into conflict, only the most reactionary forces can rejoice.

While each of the signers might have made some further changes in the text, they have joined in signing because of the extreme gravity of the situation and the need for all governments involved to hear an expression of views from those holding independent positions.

Signers as of March 2 are (all titles for identification purposes only):

Barbara Bick, Louise Bruyn (Boston Mobilization for Survival), Norma Becker (Chair, War Resisters League), Kay Camp (Chair, Women's International League for Peace and Freedom), Robert Ellsberg (Editor, *Catholic Worker*), Dave Dellinger (staff *Seven Days*), Sid Lens, David McReynolds (Socialist Party), Tony Mullaney, Sid Peck, Barbara Zanotti, Howard Zinn, Van Zwishon (staff A.J. Muste Memorial Institute).

MANNING MARABLE

FROM THE GRASSROOTS

Moving to the right: Dems are becoming the governing wing of GOP

WE ARE PRIVILEGED TO LIVE in a time of unparalleled political crisis. Neither the traditional spokesmen of the Negro middle classes (the NAACP, Roy Wilkins, Vernon Jordan and others), nor the dominant social forces that control the government and the economy,



are fully equipped to understand the nature of this crisis. Unlike Watergate, this is not a crisis of executive leadership or credibility. Unlike the Vietnam War, this is not an external crisis created by domestic political contradictions. The crisis involves the realignment of both major political parties toward the right, without a realistic electoral alternative for the majority of American people.

Since the McGovern debacle of 1972, the entire Democratic Party has shifted from its internal agendas toward the right. Democratic candidates running for office last November began sounding like Republicans; Democratic office-holders running for re-election swore that they were "born again" tax cutters and anti-inflation fighters.

The move toward the right was caused by many factors, including the following: 1) the Nixon electoral triumph of 1972, which resulted in the purging of McGovern-Kennedy liberals from leadership positions within the Democratic Party hierarchy; 2) the Watergate scandal, which forced Nixon to resign in 1974, but ironically, created the conditions for the election of independent and conservative Democrats from normally Republican

districts—new politicians who weren't tied to the traditional leaders; 3) the nomination and election of President Carter, the most conservative Democratic chief executive since Woodrow Wilson; 4) the real decline of popular cultural and political activism outside electoral politics since the late '60s; 5) the failure of organized labor, traditional middle-class black and Hispanic leaders, liberals, socialists and intellectuals to promote a realistic alternative against the movement toward the right; and 6) the "tax revolt" of the white middle classes, culminating in Proposition 13 and similar legislation.

The further to the right the Democratic Party moves, the more "Republican-oriented" the Congress and Executive branch of government become. Compounding the problem is that the Republicans are prisoners of their own extreme right wing, led by Ronald Reagan, Jack Kemp of New York, Roger Jepsen of Iowa, Paul Axalt of Nevada and many others. The Republicans still lack sufficient grass-roots strength in the state legislatures and county courthouses to be-

come a viable opposition party. Therefore, as the entire spectrum moves right, a large constituency on the left is unrepresented and ignored.

In the *New Republic* (Nov. 18), Henry Fairlie explored the dimensions of the problem. "This is the 'credibility gap' in American politics: there is no longer a major party of the left. There is not even a major party that stands as firmly to 'the left of center' as in the New Deal of Roosevelt or the Fair Deal of Truman or the Great Society of Johnson. Many consistent non-voters in America today," Fairlie reasons, "are people who are in effect disenfranchised by the absence of a left-wing party."

On a series of political issues, the Democratic Party has retreated across the board. As Fairlie writes, "The Democrats today are, so to speak, the governing wing of the Republican Party."

What are the alternatives? To date, several strategies have emerged to counterbalance this rightward drift—and none has been wholly successful. Democratic liberals like Floyd Haskell of Colorado, Wendell Anderson of Minnesota and Robert Gammage of Houston retreated from former positions and advocated conservative policies like tax relief to the middle class and anti-inflationary legislation. Haskell, Anderson and Gammage failed to organize and register their local supporters, alienated minority commu-

ities—and all three lost.

Disaffected black and Chicano leaders have organized electoral campaigns against Democratic and Republican candidates. In the case of the recent Senatorial election in Mississippi, however, independent candidate Charles Evers fell victim to the irrational rhetoric of the right. Evers' speeches were against abortion rights, integration and jobs programs. Running on a completely opportunistic platform, he only pushed the level of political debate further to the right in Mississippi.

The Democratic Party's leadership has charted a course reverting to the economics of Adam Smith, involving massive welfare cuts and inevitable recession. Unless organized labor, minorities, environmentalists, public service employees, feminists and others build a united front, the rightward drift will accelerate in the '80s. This strategy involves, ultimately, beginning a new, democratic liberal-left electoral coalition, and the permanent organization of activists from both major political parties who are seriously committed to the goal of a humanistic society. It is no longer a question *whether* this should occur. It now has become only a question of *when*.

Manning Marable is professor of history at the University of San Francisco and an editor of *Socialist Review*.

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two classes — two views

VICTOR LEVANT

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»SPORTSCENE«

SPORTS ACTIVISM

Feisty FANS revives in Bay Area

By Michael Kazin

IN NOVEMBER OF 1977, A NEW group called FANS galloped to the top of the sports pages. Ralph Nader and a lawyer friend named Peter Gruenstein announced that they had formed an organization that would "put the fans—and the fun—back in sports." FANS—Fight to Advance the Nation's Sports—had an ambitious purpose: to represent spectators and athletes against the financial designs of both club owners and their allies in pro and college officialdom. The hallowed image of adult games had been punctured with a discordant salvo.

Most of the media received this proclamation with a mixture of disbelief and derision: "Don't these busybodies know that fans like to suffer?" An ex-athlete wrote in *Harper's* that FANS was yet another sign that naive Americans wanted to "perfect" the world, scoffing at the organization's demand for "reasonably priced" concessions, he concluded, "If a money-grabbing rogue wishes to charge \$50 for a cold hot dog and a money-spending fool wishes to buy it, they deserve each other."

Despite this reception, FANS did not whimper into a dugout and die. With a start-up loan of \$10,000 from Nader (who is no longer involved), the volunteer group of cheerful malcontents has kept busy doing what consumer advocates do; investigating corporate practices, uncovering evidence of wrongdoing, and then publicizing the awful truth.

Their newsletter—inevitably called *Left-Field*—reported last summer that the Cincinnati Reds were close to \$7 million in profits in 1977 and then raised ticket prices for the next season. FANS also testified at congressional hearings to oppose pro football's TV blackouts of home games and pressured NFL owners to keep some seats open for people who can't afford or don't want to buy season tickets. This January, Gruenstein released a report, "The NFL: Profitability Analysis," which predicted that many pro football games—including the Super Bowl—may, within the next five years, be shown only on pay television.

Though they have a press agent's knack of picking the hot issues in sports, FANS activists have not been able to build a strong organization on clippings alone. Late last fall, Gruenstein—who had been serving as executive director—resigned to pursue other interests, and the tiny apparatus in Washington, D.C., was left with only 1200 members across the country and no leader.

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Meg Gerkin

Pro teams could, if pressured by fans, pay for community sports programs axed by Proposition 13 and inflation.

The San Francisco Bay Area chapter of FANS, however, was warmed up for relief duty. With six months of experience, the only existing FANS local agreed to reorganize the national office in the region, which has more sports activists than any other area in the country.

Start small.

How does FANS plan to bring the George Steinbrenners and Pete Rozelles to heel? By starting small. For example, the Bay Area chapter's big issue so far has been a five-cent increase in the price of hot dogs and beer at San Francisco's Candlestick Park, levied during the Giants' unexpected hot streak last summer.

Armed with damning statistics, FANS members lobbied the city's Recreation and Parks Department, which had rubber-stamped the boost. FANS' calculations showed that the extra nickels would net the concession company over \$7000 a month in added revenue. After several long meetings, the Rec and Parks commissioners, peeved that outsiders were challenging a routine decision, agreed to "reconsider" the price hike before Opening Day this spring.

Though the difference between paying 85¢ and 90¢ for a warmed-over Budweiser will not burn the cause of spectator rights into the hearts of millions, FANS has weightier issues on its agenda. Recently the Bay Area chapter tried unsuccessfully to convince Oakland officials to advocate community ownership of the woe-ful A's baseball franchise.

Under the penny-pinching ownership of Charles O. Finley, the club, which won three consecutive World Series in the early '70s, has fallen to the bottom of their division. Attendance last season was the lowest in the major leagues. In professional sports, the Green Bay Packers are the only club that is owned by thou-

sands of small shareholders; handfuls of big investors control the rest.

FANS also is considering a demand that local pro teams respond to the recreational needs of the area in which they are located. Though most benefit from tax breaks and arenas built for them with government funds, no club does more than sponsor youth awards and yearly banquets for their boosters as demonstrations of "public service."

After New York City paid for the \$100 million reconstruction of Yankee Stadium, Yankee management ignored pleas that they turn a portion of their profits into new playgrounds in the surrounding neighborhood—the devastated South Bronx. Bay Area FANS maintains that wealthy California teams like the Oakland Raiders and Los Angeles Dodgers should subsidize some of the community sports programs decked by the tax reductions of Proposition 13.

Do we want FANS?

The group that Nader began faces a dilemma common to all left-leaning organizations. If FANS continues to focus its wrath on ticket prices and blackout regulations, it could win a minor fight or two but lose sight of its larger goals. On the other hand, appearing as wreckers of the businesses that pay the stars and fill the stands and screens would be suicidal.

An alliance with the players might be a way out. Unlike many consumer groups, FANS does not blame sports "workers" for the condition of their industry. Bay Area FANS leader Ernie Wallerstein, whose favorite sport is frisbee, defends professional athletes: "The players have very little to say about setting ticket prices. While they're getting money for the game, it's still fun for most of them; they can see you don't have to be a professional to enjoy sports."

Furthermore, Wallerstein argues, most clubs can easily afford the salaries they are paying. Each NFL team gets \$6 million from the networks alone; baseball owners reap sizeable deductions from the depreciation of their temporary human property.

But would the athletes agree? Most fans know there are sharp divisions on most professional teams. The rich and famous are few; utility infielders and unknown offensive linemen are more common than Reggie Jackson or Terry Bradshaw. Moreover, in the last decade, the questioning of the corporate right to trade and set salaries almost at will has sparked both court cases and player strikes. Career athletes realize that their time in the national spotlight will be short, and they are no longer reticent about demanding treatment and salaries similar to those of other popular entertainers.

The real barrier to a "sports movement" may be the fans themselves. No matter how many games we watch or teams we root for, what we cherish about sports is its separation from the world of business and politics.

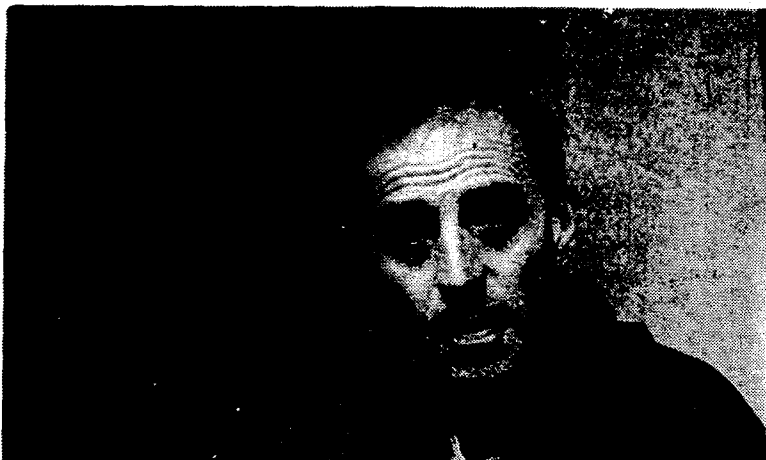
Sure, we have gripes. As Ernie Wallerstein told me, "Everyone who follows sports seems to have something that just bothers them, even if it's only Cosell." A resort to sports activism, however, would risk destroying the pleasures of that spare-time universe where strong and graceful bodies in bright uniforms run and jump in familiar patterns.

For the most part, fans look for the delights and ignore the hassles. When the San Francisco Giants were a mediocre team, baseball fans in the Bay Area grumbled about the weather at foggy Candlestick Park, the ugly artificial turf, and the lackluster refreshments. Last season, when the team sat in first place till the last days of August, people got to the park an hour early just to have picnics in the wind.

Over time, the arrogance of teams like the Reds and the Yankees may convince numbers of their followers to demand changes in the policies of corporations which are, in effect, regional monopolies. Until then, FANS will aspire to become the spectators' watchdog, instead of just a noisy puppy.

ART «» ENTERTAINMENT

DANCE TO THE MONEY



Ken Firestone

An interview with dancer Paul Sanasardo

By Charlie Vernon

Paul Sanasardo is an American modern dancer and choreographer whose career bridges the pre- and post-subsidy periods in dance. The first-generation son of Italian immigrants, he grew up on the North Side of Chicago. He worked with Paul Sills, Mike Nichols and Elaine May in the early days of improvisational theater at University of Chicago.

As his interest shifted to dance, he moved to New York where he studied and performed with Antony Tudor, Anna Sokolow, Martha Graham and others. He performed in Broadway shows and founded his own company in the late '50s. His choreography has been set in many dance companies in the U.S. and throughout Europe. For the last two years, he has been artistic director of the Batsheva Dance Company of Israel. He returned to Chicago in January to create a new work for the Joel Hall Dancers, during which time we met to discuss the topic of subsidy and the dance artist.

CHARLIE VERNON: What are the similarities and differences between state subsidy in the U.S. and in Europe and Israel?

PAUL SANASARDO: There is a difference. We're not a socialist country, at least not yet, so our funding is not permanent. No company is taken on as a permanent responsibility of the government. Our funding has been mostly on a yearly basis, so an American company must still pretty much make sure of its own survival.

In Europe this is not necessarily true. Many companies are secure in knowing they're a government company. Someone in government is financially responsible. It's beyond the people running it. And this sometimes makes people less enterprising. It's not my success; it's not my failure.

I'm a real American kid and I've been used to that drive. I need it. I've had to compete all the time. In Europe you find, I think, young people not as enterprising. In very few countries is there the kind of activity we have here. You won't find the young people going off and doing their

own thing. First they want to be supported, then they'll do it. Not that they're not talented—I have found great talent. It just doesn't occur to them that you could set yourself outside the establishment.

The Russians defected to "expand their art" and instead they just increased our Russian repertoire. The American Ballet Theatre became all Russian. So what was this great desire to expand? They played with it a little bit but ultimately they found their Russian thing works better for them and they promote it.

It's not surprising that Nureyev put *Raymonda* together, Makarova did *Sleeping Beauty* and Baryshnikov gave *Nutcracker* to Ballet Theatre, which never had one. Do we need a *Nutcracker* in the middle of April?—which is what they were doing at Kennedy Center.

I find that the Russians aren't so open-minded or enterprising, even when they have the opportunity, away from years of bureaucracy. They seemed to feel that you pretty much are what you are and what you have been. Our own experience was very different. For years, we didn't expect to be rewarded, so we were able to be more enterprising.

I'm not saying, "Don't support the artists." Believe me, I think they should be supported. But one should question the effects. I have been supported very well by the National Endowment, so this isn't sour grapes. My motivation does not come from grants, from being accepted. I grew up in a period when there was no one to be accepted by. So I had to build my own motivation and stand pretty much on my own feet. I think we're losing that as we move toward some kind of national subsidy. In Europe you'll find there are very few independent companies.

In Paris they have tried many times. A little group starts up but if they don't get supported fast, they drop out. So only the Paris Opera keeps going. It's such a huge institution, it's intimidating. All of Paris may come down but the Paris Opera will stay. The rules, laws, unions, the past—the dancers are very much concerned with this.

Can you talk about the Batsheva Dance Company that you direct in Israel?

It is primarily a modern dance company, set up originally by Batsheva de Rothschild and although she doesn't fund it anymore, it carries her name. She set up the company in 1963 as a second company for Martha Graham. Graham had been funded or supported by Batsheva de Rothschild all through the late '40s and '50s and into the '60s. She built Martha the school she has, which now belongs to Martha. She did all the American Dance Festivals. So when Batsheva decided to move to Israel, she set up this company for Martha. From about 1963 to 1967 it was strictly a Graham company.

Then Martha stopped spending much time in Israel and gradually Batsheva gave it up in 1974. In those years, the company expanded its repertoire so much that it had come to seem a national company. So the government took it over and now it is entirely supported.

In the U.S. there are so many companies that no one is considered a national company. Yet the Dance Touring Program selection became a sort of governmental

stamp of approval and non-selection was a black mark against a company. The question is how to promote growth without exclusivity.

It's a very difficult question and a very serious problem. How do you prevent people from thinking that when they get money that's the stamp of approval? And when they don't, that's the stigma of failure? They have put that value on the thing, which has colored their own thinking.

I think subsidy weakens the individual's initiative to a degree. It's one of the evils that no one knows how to cope with. Money becomes the form of evaluation. Even if the people subsidizing don't want it to become that, it still gets to be that way.

Do you avoid that if the private sector comes forth with more money?

Yes. I would have loved to have been Scarlatti, supported by the Queen of Spain. I love the old idea of a patron. That patron is a personal thing. Who knows what Scarlatti had to do to keep the Queen of Spain interested in him? But he had only one person. It was a relationship, of whatever kind—sexual or not, I don't know. Didn't Leonardo da

Vinci die in the arms of the King of France? That's not a bad idea. I'd hate to die in the arms of socialist government—they don't know who you are.

The Pope took care of Michelangelo. Michelangelo was able to throw the Pope out of the Sistine Chapel. You can't throw the government out. The government comes to see your work and they say you're not doing something. They judge you by your audience, how many people you have in there. All this affects your work. How else can they make criteria? National Endowment tried "quality" first, and were accused of ex-

else before them."

After the Sagans initiated the residency program, Reinhart went all over the country to try to sell it. "At first it was very difficult because the dance companies of the communities we visited wanted NEA funds for themselves rather than seeing it go towards bringing in outsiders," he explained. "But I told them we were trying to improve the situation for dance on a national level by sponsoring more activity and paving the way for greater exposure of companies and awareness of the communities outside New York." The program became one of NEA's biggest and more successful programs, and the main artery by which dance has flourished.

Since it offered great financial help to sponsors (even though NEA decreased its maximum subsidy to 30 percent), DTP greatly increased their number (of which there are now approximately 300), a chance that increased dance activity and visibility around the country. DTP money conferred an official status, a seal of approval on anyone who received it.

DTP began and remained for 12 years on a first-come-first-serve basis. Any company that met certain quantitative criteria, such as paying its dancers union wage and having a full-time managerial staff, could qualify for DTP money. But soon this created a rat race whereby a company that did not have its coming season fully planned out way in advance had no chance for any money.

DTP published a book with a profile of every company that qualified for DTP, including, aside from fees and a list of per-

Foundations and feds fund dance in U.S.

By Eden Clorfene

As little as 15 years ago, the main means of support for the modern dancer was unemployment money. Indeed, any dancer who could find the 20 weeks of work necessary to qualify for unemployment was considered a success. Most of dance was confined to New York, and when touring occurred, the standard engagement was the debilitating one-night stand.

Though dance today is still the lowest-paid art form in this country, a host of national and state programs have made one-night touring stands the exception rather than the rule and have made it possible to dance or choreograph during time other than that remaining from the wait on the unemployment check line. If there is a single cause that changed dance's stepchild status, it is Chicago's Harper Dance Festival (HDF), an organization that from 1965 to 1975 introduced to the Midwest many of the country's finest modern dance companies, and in the process introduced some innovative touring programs to the rest of the country.

After a four-year hiatus, Judith Sagan, who with her former husband founded HDF, has revived it (now the Harper Dance Foundation), with the aim of making it a permanent Chicago institution. Its first return production was the Paul Taylor Dance Company in early February.

The Sagans' festival began at a time of increasing national demand for dance. In two years, HDF sponsored people like Merce Cunningham, Murray Louis, Glen Tetley, Daniel Nagrin and Paul Taylor. The manager of many of these companies, Charles Reinhart—the country's first dance manager—was approached by the newly-established National Endowment for the Arts (NEA) and was asked to help develop a pilot touring program.

The NEA proposed a residency, an arrangement that would ease working conditions and foster greater community involvement with any given company's stay. Companies would visit a community for a minimum of a half a week, up to a week, give master classes and lecture demonstrations. As an incentive to the sponsors, the NEA would subsidize up to one-third of the company's fee and the community's state arts council would provide up to one-sixth. HDF's 1967-68 season of Paul Taylor, Alwin Nikolais, Glen Tetley and Merce Cunningham was the first to be co-sponsored with NEA money under the aegis of what became the Dance Touring Program (DTP).

"The Harper Festival is extremely important historically," Reinhart said last month to *IN THESE TIMES*. "It was the first in this country to offer a long-term festival of dance to any audience. The Sagans' program legitimized dance in this country like nobody



Ken Firestone



clusivity. Then they went by "quantity"—how many audiences, how many performances. That gets you into the public mind. And the artist's work must be affected. In Israel, my artistic committee is very concerned with how many people like it, what do people want now.

Do the enormous dance institutions such as American Ballet Theater gravitate toward the voice of the box office, or what is popular anyway? So that popularity talks, subsidy or no subsidy, state-supported or not?

Yes. The idea of running a dance company is in itself against

creativity. I don't think one can think of the Ballet Theater as a creative institution. Creative people sometimes go to those organizations and sometimes contribute. Just like the Bolshoi or the Kirov Ballet—there have been creative people involved with them. But not all the dancers coming out of the Kirov are Baryshnikov. And the sterility of most of those dancers is frightening. Even in a Baryshnikov, Russian dancers tend toward showmanship, not the invention of something offbeat. They judge talent by prowess, the accomplishment of the dancer, his virtuosity.

sonnel for public contact, information about a company's repertory, previous touring information, and a company narrative. But the book became more of a program bible than simply a guide; and companies not in it felt black-listed.

So this year the book and the first-come-first-serve process were eliminated in favor of a small booklet of bare facts and a panel deciding who would get federal money according to qualitative criteria—e.g., artistic merit. Once included in the program, a company would state their fee and the panel would then decide how many weeks of touring NEA could subsidize according to the 30 percent rate. From 189 companies (of which only 110 actually toured by NEA support, and some of those for only half a week), the total went down to 83—but all of those now have at least two weeks of promised support.

As few were satisfied with the amount of money they got, the NEA is currently working on plans for an entirely new DTP for the fiscal year 1981-82. According to Nello McDaniel, director of DTP, this new program will be the first major change in the program's policy and philosophy. To accommodate the incredible growth of companies and their demands, an increased budget is inevitable.

"Our idea for the future is a two-pronged approach. First, we are considering that the money might go to dance companies directly for their own specific needs or touring-related needs. And then we're considering going to sponsors directly, too, to improve their presenting possibilities.

We want to get more sponsors involved," McDaniel said.

The DTP is just one established way the NEA supports dance. NEA budgets about \$8 million for dance, of which \$4 million is earmarked for the country's big companies, the New York City Ballet, the American Ballet Theater and the Joffrey Ballet. The DTP itself receives \$2.5 million. The remaining funds are left to a variety of programs, including choreography fellowships, rehearsal support money, support for a company season in its home town, archival work such as putting a dance on videotape.

Ironically, Paul Taylor's recent Harper-sponsored Chicago visit involved no NEA funds at all, and only a small amount from the Illinois Arts Council. Since the company was able to come only at the last minute, Judith Sagan had to rely mostly on money other than subsidies.

"In addition to state and federal support, you can go to private individuals and ask for help and you can go to corporations and foundations. You begin to build your own support, unique to your organization.

"What one least wants to do, though it's apparently the fantasy of us all, is to find one, big, wonderful place to get all your money from. It sounds heavenly, but you run the great risk of having that source tell you what to do, though that may be unlikely, and more importantly, they could disappear tomorrow. They could decide that they're not interested in you any more and that's it and you have no support," Judith Sagan said. "A deficit is a fact of life. You almost have to embrace it."

Now a Baryshnikov is a very artistic person when he does it; but they're not all Baryshnikov. I've worked with the Panovs, I've worked with many of them. If you talk to the artists in these organizations, they like *Nutcracker*.

Their vision is not that separate from the popular vision.

No. But the vision is not the institutions'. Petipa [creator of *Nutcracker*] had a vision to some degree and then, you know, they forced him into retirement before he was through because they didn't agree with him anymore. The creative minds—Fokine, Balanchine—were individuals. The institution would have stifled them. And we must expect institutions to do that.

Yet the institutions will always exist, whether these are subsidized or not.

Yes. And I hope there will be subsidized companies for the dancers. We can't expect subsidy to subsidize the artist. It can subsidize the culture of the artist, the institutions of the artist. It can subsidize a museum, a ballet company, a theater.

I think the best thing that could have happened in this country was if the government had built theaters and subsidized those buildings for dance companies to dance in cheaply. It would have been much better not to give us the money. Build us three little modern dance theaters in New York.

Today, the modern dance company has nowhere to dance unless they go on Broadway where it's astronomically expensive, and that's as ruling, as dogmatic, as any subsidy. If your public doesn't come, you're out of business.

I remember when Ballet Theater used to do a workshop at the old Phoenix Theater on 2nd Avenue. They used to do two programs a year. They had Herbert Ross do *The Maids* on it. They did pretty way-out stuff. And they had less money then. Now they have so much money they wouldn't dare take a chance.

I didn't take on Batsheva because I thought it would further my artistic goals. I thought, "This is going to give me a chance to stay in the game a little longer." Where else can I know I'll have half a million dollars a year to run a dance company? But the fact is that there is no subsidy without control.

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Short Notice



Kristin Lems: fresh and enthusiastic.

ROCK-POP

CRAZY MOON

Crazy Horse (RCA)
Taut, clean, very American rock, reminiscent at various times of Moby Grape, the Band, and their sometime partner, Neil Young. This album has a lot more pizzazz than Young's recent *Comes A Time*. **bd**

SOMEWHERE IN MY LIFE-TIME

Phyllis Hyman (Arista)
The first uh oh's came when I heard strings. But, out of ecumenicalism (and remembering that "As Tears Go By," "Eleanor Rigby," and scores of Motown classics had strings), I put such worries aside. But the misgivings increased when I noticed that Barry Manilow was credited as co-producer. Even Hyman's terrific voice can't overcome that liability, or mediocre material. What is "Gonna make changes, gonna make minds aware/Moving together, always willing to share/There's power in the masses/Collectively we can win..." (from "Gonna Make Changes, written by Hyman) doing here? **bd**

SYSTEMS OF ROMANCE

Ultravox (Antilles)
If Spiro Agnew were a rock critic, he'd call these guys the effete intellectuals of rock. Studiously eerie, with synthesizer swooshes and dissonant chords, Ultravox effectively conveys a sense of displacement and alienation—e.g., "Someone Else's Clothing," "Dislocation," and "When You Walk Through Me." All this, and some neat rock'n'roll, too. **bd**

PERIODICALS

REGGAE NEWS

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TABLOID

This proposed quarterly intends to be "a review of mass culture and

everyday life," fostering eclectic critical dialog transcending the "we've been had" approach for TV, fashion, popular literature and other subjects. The group, including Latin American culture critic Jean Franco, plans to publish in 1979; first issue's focus is "obstacles to creativity in the media." Position paper is available at P.O. Box 3243, Stanford, CA 94305. **pa**

WOMEN'S MUSIC

TRYIN' TO SURVIVE

Berkeley Women's Music Collective (Windbag/Olivia Records)
Songs about women's struggle just "tryin' to survive" from the archetypal "politically correct" lesbian/feminist Berkeley Women's Music Collective. Their second lp, like their first, sacrifices quality of sound to lyric, and much of their music sounds forced. Still, there is a haunting, bittersweet edge to their jazzy light sound. **mg**

OH MAMA!

Kristin Lems (Carolsdatter Productions)
Kristin Lems' first album on her own label captures the personal joys and pains amid larger political issues. Her voice is fresh and enthusiastic; fine back-up musicians create a richer sound than Lems in concert. High spirits prevail. (Carolsdatter Productions, 908 W. California #3, Urbana, IL 61801). **jm**

JAZZ

LEGENDS

Dave Valentin (Arista-GRP)
Another unfortunate example of a talented instrumentalist (on flute) soloing prettily over slick

rhythmic backgrounds from very competent studio musicians striving for and achieving faceless uniformity. **dr**

RAW MATERIALS AND RESIDUALS

Julius Hemphill (Black Saint, import)
Dissonant squawks and squeals; disorienting, complex meters; mysterious, sombre harmonies; light-hearted melodic passages: Somehow Hemphill (alto & soprano sax), Abdul Wadud (cello) and Don Moye ("sun percussion") make it all work together. Intense, "outside" and threatening, but deeply unified. **dr**



Jones: forceful but precise.

PHILLY MIGNON

Philly Joe Jones (Galaxy)
Jones, drummer in the great Miles Davis quintet of the late '50s, produces his first U.S. album as leader in 15 years. His forceful yet precise percussion coaxes well-crafted performances from Ron Carter, Nat Adderly, Ira Sullivan and Dexter Gordon and exceptionally beautiful piano work from George Cables. **dr**

MOVIES

QUINTET (20th-Century Fox)
Robert Altman's do-it-yourself *Seventh Seal*, even more pretentious than similarly-styled *3 Women*. An international cast (including Fernando Rey, Bibi An-



QUINTET: cold, no comfort.

dersson, Brigitte Fossey, Vittorio Gassman) scramble accents amid frozen rubble sometime in the future, playing an unexplained board game for life-and-death stakes. At least Bergman pitted his players against fate; Altman just sics them on each other. **pa**

MISCELLANEOUS

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Contributors: Bruce Dancis, Myrna Greenfield, Judy McLean, Derk Richardson, Pat Aufderheide, Kathleen Brooker.

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MUSIC AND POPULAR CULTURE

Dear Critics:

Two Replies

LYNCH:

By Roberta Lynch

Bruce Dancis' response to his critics is—both visually and verbally—drastically out of proportion. I can't resist commenting on the self-righteousness of his article because, frankly, it is as much the tone as the content that disturbs me. Bruce may talk about complexity, but he has no feel for it. For him, it is simply "elitists" vs. "populists"; or "Stalinists" vs. "artists." The real issues are not so simple.

First, let me respond to some of the straw women that his piece sets up. Dancis likens political objections to censorship. The distinctions among ignoring, censoring and praising seem to have completely eluded Dancis.

I do not, any more than Bruce, believe we should ever ignore popular culture—no matter how sexist it may be. The issues are rather (1) that sexism has to be seen as integral in analyzing the phenomenon, and (2) that in making judgments about "best" our supposedly shared values have to be taken into account.

There is an important difference between a society that outlaws what it disapproves of, and one that has a vision and social goals toward which it constantly seeks to motivate its members. There is absolutely no link between refusing to honor a work, and refusing to allow it to exist. Of course, some socialist states and capitalist ones—by virtue of their total control of all forms of cultural expression—can create such a link, but it is not an inevitable one.

Second straw woman: Dancis' arguments that good politics does not necessarily make for good art. Who said they do? I've been assailed by a lot of right on sounds as the next person. The much more difficult and complicated question is whether bad politics make for bad art.

Finally, there is the charge of elitism. Here's a glass house stone thrower if I ever saw one. Dancis' year-long flirtation with the fringe phenomenon of punk rock, while virtually ignoring every record and performer played on AM radio, is at least as close to elitism as feminists who want to keep beat up women off record covers.

Popular music is a wildly mixed bag. Some of the most artistically important may be some of the least popular; some of the most popular may have new and important political messages; and so on. I don't think we should ignore any of it—the Stones or Barry White, Alice Cooper or Sean Cassidy. But neither do I think it "elitist" to say that we should bring something besides a vague and undefined "aesthetic" to bear when analyzing it.

And this is really the heart of the issue. Does art have a function? In the narrowest political terms, no. But in the deepest sense, it does. Perhaps most

broadly put, its purpose is to enhance our humanity. (The danger of a Stalinist error never comes from evaluating art in this way, but from equating "humanity" with the state or the party.)

I am not suggesting that good art is necessarily always uplifting or positive. It requires, rather, being able to see both the good and the evil in the human soul, both its ugly underside and its best aspirations. But good art is not simply voyeurism or "mirrorism." That is, it is not a peep show on life's horrors or a mindless reflection of its degradations. If it shows us oppression, it should show it in a way that takes the side of our humanity, that explores the reasons or illuminates the roots.

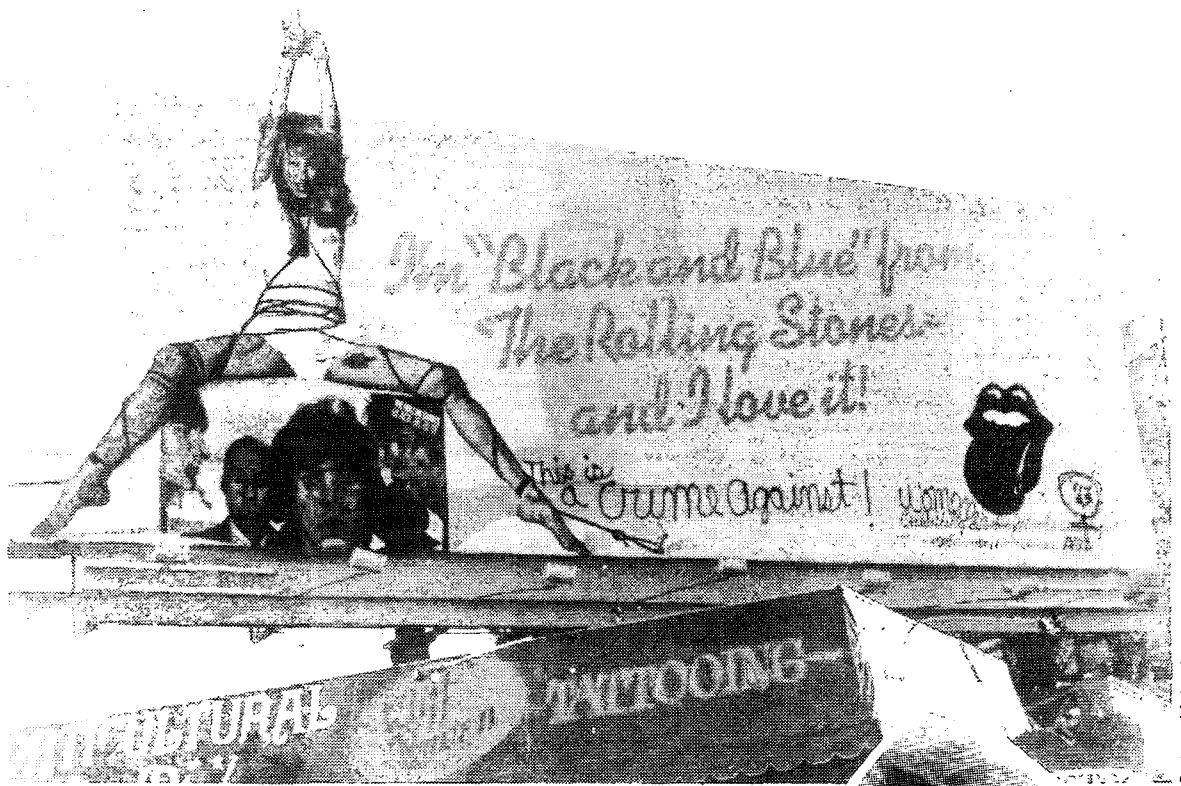
Although Dancis' critics may have been extreme in the statement of their opinion, Dancis' position can be taken to much more dangerous extremes. It allows us no criteria by which to make such ethical judgments about art and no means to struggle for non-oppressive cultural expressions.

Dancis may be able to pass over the sexism and racism of *Some Girls* in handing out his awards. Could he be equally casual in ignoring the misogyny of a song I once heard on a "progressive" rock station about a man who found his freedom in raping a woman? Where does the line get drawn? Or does it ever?

Music isn't just about words. But neither is it just about form. The Stones' presence exists on several levels: their music; their words; their performances; their album covers and other PR; all of it is part of their total message.

The rhythm of the Stones pushes on us, helping us to move out of ourselves, a necessary and sometimes joyful liberation. But I can only dance wholeheartedly and happily to the Stones because most of the time I can't understand a word they're singing. When the words break through they can often dominate the music for me. And when they're all about keeping women under men's thumbs, I can't move so freely anymore. The best may be about freedom, but the words are about control. And even the kids on American Bandstand could figure out that various aspects have to be taken into account in rating the totality of a record.

Dancis' insinuation that those who find certain songs offensive should see it as a private matter between themselves and their record players seems to me to eradicate any attempt to develop a more human cultural vision. The questions of what is sexist or racist or anti-gay—or simply repressive—and to what extent those aspects influence or distort other facets of an artistic work, should be a matter (although not the only matter) of continuing discussion and concern for us. If it's not, I'll take my cultural criticism from *Rolling Stone*. It doesn't promise anything more. ■



Stones billboard (above); FOTOMAKER album cover (right).

WAVAW:

By Julia London and Joan Howarth

In his "Dear Critics" article (ITT, Feb. 7-13), Bruce Dancis doesn't seem to consider the problem of violence against women serious enough to entertain the idea that somehow it must be stopped. His article is instead a straightforward attack; his greatest fear seems to be that we will interfere with his listening pleasure.

But Women Against Violence Against Women (WAVAW) recognizes the problem, and has been searching for a way to address it despite the constraints Dancis describes. WAVAW began in June 1976, when a coalition of Los Angeles women's groups protested the promo campaign of Atlantic Records (a Warners Communications, Inc., subsidiary) for the Rolling Stones succeeded in having removed a billboard on Sunset Strip that featured a bruised, trussed-up, "sexy" woman.

That billboard was only the most recent evidence of a growing trend in record advertising—the use of images of violence against women. It was, we realized, an industry-wide problem, but many of the abusive images were products of WCI. In November 1976, in coalition with California NOW, WAVAW demanded that WCI adopt a policy statement against the use of violence against women in advertising; they ignored this letter. In December 1976, WAVAW and California NOW called for a boycott of all WCI labels (Atlantic, ATCO, Electra/Asylum/Nonesuch, Warner Brothers/Reprise). Quickly, Warner marketing and art directors met with us to explain that they were "sympathetic but powerless" to affect corporate policy. Since then, thousands of letters demanding WCI institute a reasonable advertising policy have produced some change, although the abusive promo campaigns keep coming. In some ways the

WCI campaigns have become more subtle, which we believe results from our pressure.

Bruce Dancis misunderstands our campaign. He implies, in a sweeping conclusion, that we advocate boycotting all companies, and effectively stop listening to popular music; this is a gross exaggeration of our boycott, which focuses on WCI because it is an industry leader. He also says WAVAW's boycott is over an occasional "sexist album cover." But we are talking about advertising policy, the promulgation of ideas and stereotypes in a forceful communications genre.

Dancis wonders why we pick on a company that records such artists as Jackson Browne and Bonnie Raitt. We suggest that would-be buyers of the albums of WCI artists write them, explain the problem and enlist their help in getting a policy statement.

Dancis subtly minimizes and hides from us the crucial political issue of advertising, by making constant reference to "sexist album covers." Advertising promotes a way of life that in part prevents people from directing their frustrations with the system at the system. Just as in the '30s advertising often was designed to turn people against those monster Bolsheviks, this advertising (wittingly or not) prays on the confusions, misunderstandings and fears in the backlash against the women's movement.

Further, this sexist and violent (not "merely objectifying") advertising glamorizes victimization and oppression. It trivializes "the battle between the sexes," making it look trendy and chic. These things all help further to confuse and divide men and women.

Feminists have created rape crisis hotlines, shelters for battered women, self-defense instruction; they have effected legal changes to help protect women who are battered and raped. But we have to do more than offer support to victims. We have to stop the violence. Because we understand the magnitude of real

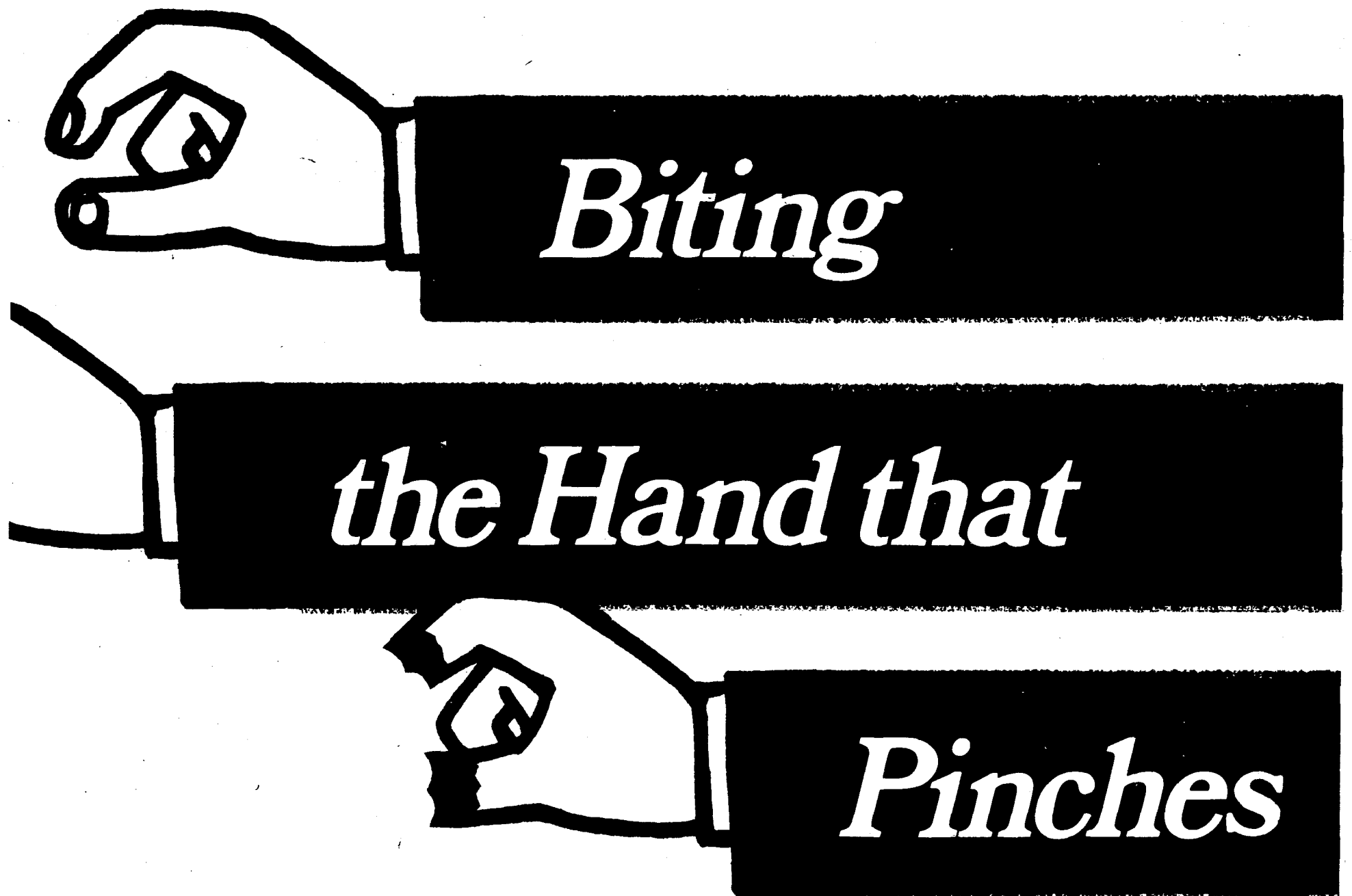
life violence against women, we are enraged that record companies promote images of victimized women along with their records.

Dancis argues (with record company executives) that record companies really reflect the sexist culture. But the reality of violence against women is brutal and ugly. Advertising violence is glamorous and appealing. A National Advertising Review Board report, "Advertising and Women" (1975), says that advertising more than reflects culture. It teaches values and roles. It says that stereotypes used in advertising reinforce those stereotypes in people's minds, and that to deny there is a problem is to deny the effectiveness of advertising.

In a recent study, 51 percent of the college men interviewed said they would rape if they could get away with it. WAVAW says those statistics must change, even if it means changing an entire culture.

We are starting with the record industry, where images of violence against women are increasingly frequent, and a large portion of the rock and roll audience is younger people. We fight because, for example, one-third of all women who live out their lives in Los Angeles will be assaulted and because, for example, 20 to 28 million women are battered in this country each year. Perhaps when Dancis lets these figures sink in, he will understand why we disagree with him, why so many people find WAVAW's work so important, and why we find his complaint that life with WCI would be "gloomy" so deeply offensive. ■

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Tom Greenfelder

By David Helvarg

BETH O. IS A 23-YEAR-OLD single mother. For the past three weeks she has been unemployed. "I was working as a receptionist for a local realtor," she explains. "After I'd been there about two months he started asking me out to lunch and dinner. Then he asked me if I'd go out with him. I didn't really like him, so I politely told him that no, I didn't want to go out with him. After that he really started making my work hard for me, criticizing things I did that he hadn't criticized before, insulting me in front of other employees, putting me down and generally making it so hard for me that finally I felt compelled to quit. Now I can't collect unemployment because they say I resigned voluntarily."

Diana P. works as a typesetter in a local print shop. She has lived in California just over a year. "Back in Duluth I worked in this bar and the guy who owned it and bartended nights was always trying to make out with me or get me to sleep with some of the customers. I had to put up with this till I was ready to leave and head on out here."

"It's nothing that you wouldn't expect. It's mostly verbal. Some people even thrive on it, they look for career advancement that way, but when someone doesn't respect you as a co-worker, but only looks at you as a body, I find that pretty offensive," says Jane H., a waitress at a San Diego restaurant. "Mostly it takes the form of comments. I know when I get referred to as a cute young thing that kind of upsets me—or when the boss blocks the door so I have to squeeze by, sort of leans there and then pretends he didn't see me, or hugs me in front of other people, and this is a man I don't feel any affection for, but I can't really say anything because, you know, if he's doing it in front of other people then how can you say it's sexual, besides which he's your boss. I mean, different women have different tolerance levels. I guess mine is just kind of low."

Sexual harassment on the job is widespread, but little talked about. Only in the last year has sexual harassment been recognized legally as a form of sex discrimination. This came about as the result of a suit filed by five women and a

If you resist your boss when he wants to "play around," you could lose your job. You can also sue for sex discrimination.

male professor at Yale University, who claimed that the university condoned sexual harassment of its students. On Dec. 12, 1977, federal magistrate Arthur Latimer ruled in favor of one of the plaintiffs.

Testing the law.

Since then, a number of legal cases have come before the courts. In February 1978 the Environmental Protection Agency agreed to settle a claim for Paulette Barnes, a former employee who lost a promotion when she refused to cooperate with her supervisor's demands for sexual favors. In New York, the State Division of Human Rights effected a claim for a woman at the Monsanto Textile Company. More recently, a San Diego woman won a \$5000 settlement after her boss came to her home and tried to force his attentions on her.

"The court only recently determined that it was job discrimination if a person suffered professionally as a result of sexual harassment," explains Judy Digennaro, a law professor at Western State in San Diego. "Originally, sexual harassment on the job was considered a 'personal' matter. Now it falls under Title 7 of the Civil Rights Act. Still, most women who are affected by this kind of thing would never think of fighting back. Most women in this society are scared. Many are taught to use their sex manipulatively and then if they get in over their heads they don't know what to do. In some ways it's like what used to happen when office affairs were discovered, where the woman would be fired and the man allowed to stay on."

"I don't think men are the problem. I think it's unequal power relationships in society. It's just that at this point in history women don't have very much power to make use of."

Sexual harassment is not necessarily a male prerogative. Lenny L. used to work

for a public official in San Diego County. "The top aide in the office was an attractive woman in her early thirties, very politically ambitious, and she wanted me to do her dirty work, sort of act as her tool. One afternoon she made it clear to me that it would be all right to sleep with her, invited me over to her apartment, dropped the appropriate hints. I just wasn't interested; on the other hand, I wasn't surprised either. It's part of the system. The rules of the game say that people, labor, even sexuality are just commodities to be bought, sold or bartered in exchange for power. Why should she play any differently? I mean, after all, she was the boss."

Hard to prove.

"I was fired from a job once," says Nanci G. Clinch, now working as a lawyer in private practice here in San Diego. "I was one of two secretaries in an office that pooled its clerical staff. She worked nights as a topless dancer and gave out. I was the more qualified secretary, also the one who got fired. I considered that a form of sexual harassment." Clinch is presently handling a legal case for a woman who was forced to leave a management training program with a local company.

"This case involves a lot of psychological as well as physical harassment," she explains. "He was grabbing her breasts, demanding morning and evening kisses. He'd lock himself in an office with some of the other women and jack himself off while they were doing the books. He coerced some women into having sex with him in order to keep their jobs. He thought he had a regular harem going there."

"Upper management didn't do anything about it until my client gave her two weeks notice. Then they fired him and offered her a transfer to a less responsible position. Workman's Compensation

turned down her claim because they said she'd been offered a job back, but it wasn't the same job. Besides, upper management had known about this man before and not done anything about it until it threatened to blow up in their faces."

"It's a hard decision to fight this kind of thing," Clinch continued. "The people you have to go in front of, the appeals boards, the judges, are mostly men and they have not really been sensitized to the issue. It's like wife-beating or incest, it's something that's just now coming out of the closet."

"There's a problem of proof in this kind of case that is hard to deal with since it's often one person's word against another's," says Carolyn Miles, the director-attorney of Equal Rights Advisors (ERA), a San Diego-based non-profit legal corporation set up to do legal work on behalf of women's rights. "There is also a long process involved in going through grievance procedures first in the company or agency, then with the Fair Employment Practices Commission or the Equal Employment Opportunities Commission and this is all before you even can get into court. Part of the problem is the length of time this leaves the woman exposed. It's kind of a maze following proper procedures."

Organizing around this issue goes past legal action and support. Working Women United Institute in New York is a national research and action center recently established to focus on the issue of sexual harassment on the job. It offers workshops, speakers and organizational resources for women concerned about this issue.

"The emergence of this issue is part and parcel of women's growing awareness," says Judy Digennaro. "Women are discovering that they have other than sexual powers that they can rely on. As more women enter the work force they show a greater willingness to fight back. It's a snowballing effect. You think the boss is only after you until you talk to other women and discover that it's a common experience."

"Discovering this you become less fearful, more willing to take collective action. And out of this willingness to act can come a movement that will change not only the status of women in society but the power relationships that define society as a whole."